

# New Light Old Test

BY

ALLEN HOWARD GODBE



LITHOPRINTED BY  
UNIVERSITY LITHO PU  
NORMAN, OKLAHO

# Light on The Testament

BY

WARD GODBEY, A. M., PH. D.



LITHOPRINTED BY  
ITY LITHO PUBLISHERS  
ORMAN, OKLAHOMA

ANCIENT ORIENT

# New Light on The

## SOME FACTORS SHAPING

- I. CULTURAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL
- II. MINOAN-PHILISTINE-AEGAEAN  
PALESTINE
- III. EGYPTIAN INFLUENCES IN PALESTINE

By

ALLEN HOWARD GODBEY

Sometime Professor of Old Testament  
American Oriental Society; Palestine  
Oriental Research; New Orient Society  
Literature; Archaeological Institute  
American Association for Advancement of Science

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

1934

School of Religion, University of Chicago

A. H. Godbey, 807 3d St. S. E.

ORIENTAL HISTORY

# in The Old Testament

SHAPING ANCIENT PALESTINE

NOLOGICAL PROLEGOMENA

AEAGAEAN INFLUENCES IN SOUTH

CES IN PALESTINE

By

WARD GODBEY, A. M., Ph. D.

ld Testament, Duke University; Member of  
ety; Palestine Oriental Society; Society of  
New Orient Society; Society of Biblical  
ological Institute of America; Ameri-  
on for Advancement of Science.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

1934

ligion, University of Oklahoma

07 3d Street, Durham, N.C.

BS 1145  
G 55

Copyright 1934

by

Allen Howard Godbey

This copyright forbids, except for review purposes, the use of this material, or any part thereof, including methods and titles, in any way, whether in lectures, courses, or publications, except by permission of the author.

Also, all rights are reserved concerning the titles, methods, and other unpublished material including those used in successive editions of these Outlines prepared for class use from 1929 to 1934, upon (1) Minoan-Philistine-Aegean Influences in Shaping South Palestine, and (2) Egyptian Influences in Shaping Palestine, not included herein.

Dis

## PREFACE

1. The inductive method controlling these "Outlines" is that of the biological laboratory: the reverse of the lecture method. Instead of taking notes, a number of sources are pointed out: the student examines, and makes his own inferences.

It is related that a student under Agassiz announced a laboratory discovery. "Wonderful! wonderful, my boy! Did you find all that out by yourself?" But the student saw presently that Agassiz knew it already, and said so. "Yes, I did, my boy, but I wanted you to have the joy of making a discovery of your own!"

It is the business of a wise laboratory director to indicate to his students where they should look. Without his direction they will make few discoveries.

2. The method is that of the stern school of life, which year by year crowds new facts into our little personal domains of supposedly settled things. The outcry of feeble minds afflicted with mental arteriosclerosis, when confronted with new facts, is an ancient tale--and a tiresome one.

3. The method is vindicated by experience. It has long been in use by directors of Biblical study. These present outlines have grown through eight successive years, with graduate students who had introductory Biblical lectures of the parrot-type. In every individual case they have said, "We ought to have had this first. This is the proper way to begin." There has been no exception. The opposition of instructors who lack both the equipment and experience with the method merits only contempt.

4. "I have no time to teach my classes Hebrew History: I only want to tell them of Israelite Religion" -- So a national figure has written me. With one who assumes that he can give the history of the religion without the history of the people, there can be no argument. He imagines and assumes all his history. Twenty-three years ago the writer was one of thirty who read the proof sheets of Louis Wallis' The Sociological Study of the Bible. Its fundamental weakness is the assumption that Israel brought all high ethical ideals into Palestine, and found none. But the modern Palestinian archaeologist knows the Israelite destroyers of cultured peoples (about 1200 B.C.) to be a rude people whose most prominent religious symbols were naked female figurines. The compiler of Josh. 24:2, 14, 15, 23, knew them as pagans, worshipping other gods east of the Euphrates. The compiler of Exodus 6:3 declares that the name Yahu (Jehovah; AV, LORD, in capitals) was never known to the patriarchs: but an Edomite name, El-Shaddai, was. This is reinforced by the fact pointed out long ago by G. B. Gray (Hebrew Proper Names) that of the hundreds of personal and place names in the Old Testament from the Exodus to David, not one is compounded with Yahu or Yo. Names like Hezek-Yah, Jeho-shaphat, are later. One who wishes to ignore such evidence cannot tell us the truth about the religious history of Israel.

5. "Why has the method of beginning with prehistory not been used before?" -- Because most teachers of the Old Testament were wholly unequipped. In more than 150 credit-courses I have had not one ministerial college graduate who had any instruction whatever in geology, elementary archaeology, ancient oriental history; and only one who could read a little German. And their previous Biblical instructors were often no better equipped. But our outstanding Old Testament scholars have been telling us for twenty-five years that the significant elements in Palestine lie in its pre-Israelite history. And present-day anthropologists announce that they deal, in Egypt and Palestine, with some folk-institutions not traceable to any people of historic times.

6. The fact calls for a certain adaptation of method in the following outlines. It is necessary in prehistoric or archaeological matters to state briefly such essential facts as the average student would not be likely to find out for himself; indicating sources from which a much fuller account may be gained. But in matters purely within the Old Testament text, the passages are grouped, and the student must be required to make his own constructive statement.

It may be recognized that such presentation of source material may be a little more than a paragraph of bibliography, as in sections 9, 10, and 15 of the Egypt-



tian "Outlines," but instructor and student will want to know where the information for extended consideration may be had.

7. A further adaptation of the method is necessary in cases where the important material is all in ancient language, which neither instructor nor student can read, and which no scholar has heretofore put together. Oftentimes there was no recourse but to translate and assemble it.

8. The above limitations in the knowledge of language also require that students and instructors shall not be sent to German sources of information, where English sources are available. Also, where an obscured fact depends upon some knowledge of a Hebrew term, it is necessary to classify the Old Testament passages. But the student should verify each citation. The paragraphs on "Rephaim" and "Canaanite" illustrate this point.

9. "Why are these "Outlines" limited to influences from the Mediterranean Sea, and to influences from Egypt?" -- Because these are the influences systematically ignored, since the beginnings of modern scholarship. There is no historic record of any organized culture-immigrations from the Arabian deserts into Palestine, yet such are incessantly assumed. Our scholarly darkness with regard to influences from other regions has been like that of Egypt in Moses' time -- but not so ephemeral. It certainly can be felt, by those who try to enlighten it. It should be added that a study of Egyptian influences means a study of the Asia Minor influences, with which Egypt has battled from prehistoric times.

10. "Are our Bible Dictionaries reliable?" -- The compilation of Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible and of the Cheyne-Black Encyclopaedia Biblica (which bankrupted its editors) began forty years ago. They have been on the market more than thirty-five years. At the University of Chicago, within the first five years, Old Testament scholars said that one-third the articles in each could be grouped with still another third to be wholly re-written; then we would have a pretty good dictionary! But an immense body of information of the first importance has been gained since then: uncorrelated: in scholarly journals and reports.

11. "Why did we not have all this information before?" -- The Turkish Government was a chief reason. It seldom permitted scientific exploration. But since the World War, with Palestine under British mandate, Syria to the Harran area under French mandate, Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf under British mandate, Central and Western Asia Minor under the Reform Turk movement of Kemal Pasha, the country is wide open to earnest and honest scholars: sometimes fifteen different exploring expeditions at work in Palestine in one season--turning up more new knowledge than we had gained in a thousand years.

Olmstead's invaluable History of Assyria, (1923) illustrates the point. Within a short time enough new material became available to enable Sidney Smith, of the British Museum, to write an equally large volume upon the Early History of Assyria, which Olmstead had not been able to touch. This in no way discredits Olmstead. Now there is enough more material to warrant another volume equally large.

12. "Why not give us all these new data in ready-digested form, like one of our popular modern histories?" -- Because it can't be done--not by any conscientious scholar. But the great finds each season only here and there link chronologically with each other or with discoveries already made. Every effort heretofore to cross a little time-gap with a plausible speculation has ended in failure. All archaeologists have made some interpretative mistakes. No single important new find has been forecast by any speculative "gap-filling" inference. Knight's Nile and the Jordan (fifteen years old) is pointed out to the student, in some paragraphs, as containing valuable original source-material, at the particular point. But Knight, not being a first-hand scholar, anxiously compiling shrewd guesses and interpretations of previous prominent scholars, has had about all these swept away by surprising discoveries since--and the student has to be warned not to accept much that Knight compiled, and in his own work not to go beyond the proven fact.





13. "Have we any satisfactory Hebrew History?" -- In the nature of the case, none. No competent scholar has tried to write one in the last twenty-five years. "We put these old histories on our reserve-shelves to be criticised, and lecture from our own notes of the rapidly accumulating new discoveries." So scholarly university Old Testament men have written me.

14. "Can one be a reliable teacher, or a reliable historian, without a first-hand acquaintance with the ancient languages and the ancient source material?" -- The query may be answered by Dr. W. F. Albright's review of the attempted History of Israel by the Englishmen, Theodore H. Robinson, and W. O. E. Oesterley. Dr. Albright spends seventeen pages of the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, 1932, (251 ff.) pointing out the swarming mistakes and the surprising omissions, of material well known to scholars. He pays this attention, because their work is likely "to remain standard text-books and books of reference throughout the English-speaking world for the next generation." By this Dr. Albright means that no competent scholar is likely to attempt such a work within that time.

Very specifically, in BASOR, February, 1934, Dr. Albright concludes a sketch of the notable discoveries in Palestine during 1933 thus: "From this very summary sketch it will be seen that archaeological excavation in Palestine and Syria has not even begun to reach the point of diminishing returns, and that discoveries of the greatest historical importance are still pouring in much faster than they can be assimilated by the historian."

15. Reverting to the review of Robinson and Oesterly in JPOS, of the necessary equipment for a historian, or university professor in the Old Testament field, Dr. Albright writes thus:

"These requirements are no longer insignificant. The unparalleled development of archaeological and an epigraphic research in Palestine and neighboring lands, during the past century, has made it necessary for the serious historian of Israel to be at home in dealing with the language and literature of Egypt and Mesopotamia, as well as with the methods and results of the modern excavator. The historian of the Graeco-Roman period must be at home in the intricate fields of epigraphy and papyrology. If not an original investigator in these fields, the historian must in any case be able to appraise the work of Egyptologists and of Assyriologists, of epigraphers and of papyrologists, or archaeologists and topographers. It is naturally difficult for a single man to cover all these fields; for two men it should be possible. The foremost biblical historian of our generation, A. ALT of Leipzig, who occupies the chair of KITTEL, is perhaps the only man who fulfils all these varied requirements, being competent in dealing with Egyptology, cuneiform, Greek epigraphy, Byzantine literature, topography, ceramic chronology, etc. Not only, however, must the biblical historian be philologist and epigrapher, he must also be a historian in the modern sense of the term, a historian of social, economic, political, and cultural life, understanding and employing modern principles of historical induction. If these demands upon the biblical historian may seem excessive, let us consider the requirements justly made of a historian of modern Central Europe. He must have a satisfactory knowledge of all the important Teutonic and Slavic languages, of French and Italian, Latin and Greek; he must know histories of all the important European nations; he must be at home in political economy and science, in international law, in journalism, etc. With this equipment he must become a historian, not a mere compiler of facts. The greatest ancient historian of modern times, the late EDUARD MEYER, possessed an even greater equipment than this. His linguistic attainments included all important European languages, a perfect command of Greek and Latin, a good knowledge of Hebrew and Egyptian, a bowing acquaintance with cuneiform and with the Indo-Iranian tongues, as well as a grasp of the principles of modern comparative linguistics. In non-linguistic fields he possessed an extraordinary knowledge of political history, religious, literary, artistic, and cultural materials; economic, juristic, and social data, etc. Before Meyer wrote a history he nearly always published several monographs and books dealing with special problems, each of which he generally treated with such complete mastery that his preliminary discussion has become standard, or has at least remained fundamental.

The books before us are so far from attaining to the ideal which we have described in the paragraph above that we must, in justice to the original intentions of their authors, regard them as students' histories, and regret the secondary attempt to make them standard scholarly works. Though they are undoubtedly too large to serve the ordinary needs of students, their comprehensiveness is a good fault,



since the student will be brought into touch with many problems which could hardly have been sketched otherwise." The unequipped Biblical instructor will be misled daily by the blunders of hack-compilers.

16. Any instructor will recognize that the "Outlines" are capable of very wide use. One of very limited equipment can use them with undergraduate students, for a year's popular English survey. The well-equipped Biblical scholar can use the same "Outlines" for graduate students, extending the study through two years, if he wishes, and seeing points at which a thesis might be developed. The difference in possibilities will primarily be in the instructors. There are those who have frankly acknowledged to the writer their total lack of equipment.

The student should hold to continuous use of maps, and to the chronological sequence of facts. He should observe the dates of books and articles, recognizing that a "plausible" article may be totally demolished by some discovery four or five years later.

In making notes on the blank pages, the number of the section referred to should always be given.

17. It is the plan that these copyrighted "Outlines" shall be revised year by year, to make available for instructors and students all new established facts that may seem important. The author therefore invites the contribution of facts. It is hoped that such an annual historical "clearing house" will be approved by scholars and gain their cooperation.

\* \* \* \* \*

In my conclusion, my hearty thanks are due to Dr. Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago, who first read and approved and encouraged the publication of a preliminary form of these "Outlines" three years ago; and to Dr. Theophile J. Meek of the University of Toronto, Dr. W. C. Graham and Dr. Martin Sprengling of the University of Chicago, Dr. George L. Robinson of the McCormick Theological Seminary, Dr. James Alan Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. George B. Winton of Vanderbilt University, who read and heartily approved the publication of an enlarged form of the "Outlines" two years ago; and to Dr. W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University for many prompt and cordial responses to inquiries upon points of practical interest.

And my especial thanks are due to my former pupil, Professor Wallace I. Wolverton, of the School of Religion at the University of Oklahoma, whose personal appreciation and interest in the field has inspired him to undertake the drudgery of proof-reading and of aiding the publishers to give these "Outlines" the present form.

A. H. Godbey

April 26, 1934



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Instructors in colleges, large or small, will not be able to secure or use all the source-books employed in these "Outlines." And there are no old books of any value, because the "Outlines" are intended to make available the discoveries of the past twenty years. Each college should have translations of original documents, like Breasted's Ancient Records of Egypt, Luckenbill's Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. For a "History of Israel," there is none. Those not using or discussing documentary speculations are to be preferred; such as Wade's Old Testament History (1901), or Price's Dramatic Story of Old Testament History (1929). For economic and social conditions that produce wars, there is no book. We do not know, in most cases, why Assyria plunged into some particular war. Comparatively new books, like Olmstead's, do not tell us that. Hence numbers 150 and 150b in the Egyptian "Outlines," translated from documents that few instructors can read, give a picture that cannot be put together from all the books that have been printed. As to the ethics and ideals in each cultus of the ancient world, we have scanty information. Dr. Cook can tell us what religious symbols and names are dug up, but this does not tell us the social system and ethical standards of the worshippers. We are but slowly feeling our way to the fountain heads of our current ideals and hopes and prejudices. In all this penumbral territory, each instructor who will first equip himself with all the known facts, may contribute a little to a clearer knowledge.

So in the following list, each English book or periodical that any school ought to have is marked with an asterisk; in some cases, a comment is added.

### PERIODICALS

Associated Press: Dispatches and Special Correspondents. All exploring parties send reports to certain dailies. The London Times and The New York Times, with other New York papers, are regularly informed. The many such journals cited in these "Outlines" are not listed here. Each instructor should have a clippings bureau send him all important reports. The field-dispatches in these "Outlines" from American and foreign papers were furnished by The Argus Clippings Bureau, 352 Third Avenue, New York. Brief statements, "boiled down" by some editors, are seldom satisfactory.

- \*AJA - American Journal of Archaeology.
- \*A&A - Art and Archaeology.  
Ancient Egypt-Archaeologia.
- AJSJ - American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
- Asia.
- Antiquity.
- Annual of Smithsonian Institution.
- AFO - Archiv für Orientforschung.
- \*AO - Archiv Orientalni.
- Biblica.- (Latin: at Rome).
- Biometrica.
- \*British Museum Quarterly.
- \*BASOR - Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research.(Four each year).
- Der Alte Orient.
- Forschungen und Fortschritte.
- Expository Times.
- Geographical Journal.

Harvard Theological Review.

- \*ILN - Illustrated London News.(Of the first importance. Regular medium for the British Museum. Continental explorers also send it reports and photos. Reports in some cases published also by The London Times and The New York Times. For the wealth of illustration, each school should have a file of the last fifteen years.)
- L'Illustration.(Occasionally has same report as ILN, but not often).
- JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society.(For technical scholars only).
- JEA - Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
- \*JPOS - Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society.(A valuable quarterly).
- JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
- JRAS - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JSOR - Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.(Discontinued).
- Journal Asiatique.
- Literary Digest.
- Methodist Quarterly Review.
- MDOG - Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orientalische Gesellschaft.
- MVAG - Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
- Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania.
- Nature.
- Natural History.
- National Geographic Magazine.
- OLZ - Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
- PEFQ - Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly.



- PSBA - Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. (Technical; discontinued, 1916.)
- \*QDAP - Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine.
- RA - Revue Archaeologique.
- Revue d'Assyriologie.
- Revue de Deux Mondes.
- Revue Biblique.
- RHR - Revue de L'Histoire des Religions Science.
- \*SNL - Science News-Letter.
- Sci. Am. - Scientific American.
- Syria (French)
- TSBA - Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. (Technical; became PSBA)
- ZATW - Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandische Gesellschaft.
- ZDPV - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palastina-Vereins.

#### BOOKS

- \*ARA - Luckenbill, D. D., Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Chicago; 1926
- Luckenbill, D. D., Annals of Sennacherib, Chicago; 1924
- \*ARE - Breasted, J. H., Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago; 1906-07
- \*ANF - Ante-Nicene Fathers.
- \*CAH - Cambridge Ancient History.
- \*DB - Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.
- ERE - Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
- EAL - Knudtzon, J. A., Die El-Amarna Tafeln, Leipzig, 1916 (Two volumes; 1614 pages; Akkadian and German)
- \*HAE - Breasted, J. H., History of the Ancient Egyptians, New York, 1908 (Not illustrated. His larger History of Egypt, New York, 1912, is profusely illustrated. Discoveries of past twenty-five years are not included.)
- \*LTM - Godbey, A. H., The Lost Tribes a Myth, Durham, North Carolina; 1930. (Showing the wide dispersion of Israelites in pre-exilic times. It is invaluable in connection with these "Outlines", which make that fact clearer.)
- \*PFE - Edwards, Amelia B., Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers, New York; 1892. (This eminent Egyptologist shows that early Greek art was trained by Egypt. The book is not a history of Egypt. Profusely illustrated. It is still valuable in its field.)
- SAC - Robinson, George L., The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization, New York; 1930. (Devoted to the rock-hewn houses and temples of Petra. It does not go back of the Nabatean-Greek period. Later than 400 B.C.)
- \*Barton, George A., Archaeology and the Bible, 6th edition, Philadelphia, 1933 (Documents and photographs; materials for historians.)
- Barth, Henry, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 3 volumes. New York, 1859. (No anthropology, nor pre-Mohammed history. Much philology.)
- Behnk, Frida, Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna, 72 pp., Paris, 1930. (Ph.D. thesis. Miss Behnk shows that Egyptian grammatical forms of 1400 years earlier survived in the vernacular of Palestine! - a fact of great significance.)
- Blackman, Winifred S., The Fellahin of Upper Egypt, 1926. (An able anthropologist, for years a resident in Upper Egypt. Her finding of pre-historic survivals is entitled to great respect.)
- Bodley, R. V. C., Algeria From Within, Indianapolis; 1927.
- Breasted, J. H., Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.
- Brugsch, Heinrich Karl, Egypt Under the Pharaohs, London; 1891.
- Brunton, Guy, and Miss G. Caton-Thompson, Badarian Civilization.
- \*Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, The Nile, London 1910 (The Thomas Cook Tourist's Handbook; invaluable for the popular information on a great variety of subjects. Each instructor should have the latest edition.)
- Curtiss, Samuel Ives, Primitive Semitic Religion Today, Chicago; 1902. (Valuable information, but not primitive and not Semitic.)
- \*Cook, S. A., The Religions of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology, London; 1930. (Invaluable for its presentation of the concrete evidence of many cults. Wisely, no ethical evaluation is attempted.)
- Draper, John W., History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science, New York; 1874; 1928.
- \*Duncan, J. Garrow, Digging Up Biblical History, 2 volumes, New York; 1931. (The author is a field-archaeologist with years of experience in Palestine. His volumes are not history. He briefly summarizes the concrete archaeological evidence found at each site. It is material for history. The Croall Lectures for 1928-9. This summary is now five years behind, but there is none to take its place until the author revises it himself.)
- \*Evans, Sir Arthur J., The Palace of Minos. Three great illustrated volumes, New York (The work is alone in its field.)
- Ebert, Max, Real-Lexicon der Vorgeschichte, 15 volumes, 1924-1930. (Chiefly archaeology of Continental Europe.)
- Frankfort, H., Early Studies in the Pot-





- tery of the Ancient Near East, London; two successive volumes.
- \*Garstang, John, Joshua and Judges, London, 1931. (Professor Garstang, an Egyptologist and field-archaeologist of long experience, undertakes to fit local discoveries into the OT narratives. He is hampered by certain prepossessions. Some of his conclusions cannot be reconciled with the facts pointed out in these "Outlines." But the books should be considered.)
- Garstang, John, The Hittite Empire, London, 1929. (A comprehensive volume describing the Hittite antiquities known up to 1928. But there is nothing like an ordered history. None is possible yet for some of the periods and some of the peoples.)
- \*Glotz, Gustave, The Aegean Civilization, New York, 1925. (Translation from the French. Professor Glotz shows the development or cultural "evolution" in antiquities discovered.)
- \*Gray, G. B., Hebrew Proper Names, London, 1896
- \*HAAN - Gsell, Stephen, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord, 8 volumes, different dates. (The only work in that field.)
- \*Hall, Harry R. W., General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum, 1930. (Indispensable. A vast variety of information, like Budge's Nile, above. Dr. Hall succeeded Budge as keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities. The volume contains his latest knowledge of the chronology of the dynasties. His Ancient History of the Near East, nearly 20 years old, is not used in these "Outlines.")
- Harding-King, W. J., Mysteries of the Libyan Desert, Philadelphia; 1925.
- Hassanein Bey, A. M., Lost Cases, New York; 1925.
- \*Herodotus - (An English Translation should be at hand.)
- Homer's Odyssey - (An English translation should be at hand.)
- \*Hogarth, David G., The Penetration of Arabia, New York; 1904. (A summary of explorations up to that time. Those of the last ten years have added much and refuted some long-cherished Ethnological theories.)
- \*Jarvis, Major C. S., Yesterday and Today in Sinai, Edinburgh and London; 1931; (Major Jarvis is not a globe trotter, but for nine years the Governor of Sinai. His administrative constructive work with all parts of the peninsula enables him to correct many misrepresentations.)
- Johnston, Sir Harry H., Story of My Life, New York; 1922. (One of the great builders of the British Empire in South Africa and Nigeria. He only saw North Africa as a visitor.)
- \*Josephus.
- Karge, P., Rephaim, Paderborn, 1917, 755 pp., large 8 vo. volumes illustrated (The great German archaeologist presents the megalithic monuments and tombs of Palestine. His work is being supplemented by Dr. A. E. Mader, whose book is not yet announced.)
- \*Knight, G. A. Frank, The Nile and The Jordan, 572 pp., large 8 vo. volumes equal to the average three-volume book; London, 1921. (A scholarly effort to portray all the interrelations of Egypt and Palestine, quoting the OT in full where he is confident of a synchronism. But Dr. Knight has committed the unpardonable sin of living too soon! Being without the last fifteen years of knowledge gained by excavations, and with an ancient prepossession that everything good in the ancient world was "Semitic," the result is that much of his book is to be rejected. His failure to see two irreconcilable cultural elements in ancient Egypt, and his assertion that "Psamtik I was the first Egyptian sovereign to adopt the plan of holding his kingdom by foreign troops," (p. 315) will set Egyptologists to shaking with laughter. As to method, in cloudy spots he crams in notes of miscellaneous speculative guesses, which have generally been discredited by later information. The student is to be warned not to publish such things. Dr. Knight would not repeat those mistakes today. A well-equipped instructor can use parts of the book to advantage, as indicated at some points in these "Outlines." The student who swallows everything indiscriminately will acquire much misinformation.)
- Lidzbarski, Mark, Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik, volume iii, Gies-sen; 1909-1915
- \*Macalister, R. A. S., The Philistines, London, 1913.
- Macalister, R. A. S., The Excavation of Gezer, London; 1904.
- \*MacDonald, Beth-Pelet II, London; 1932.
- \*McCurdy, G. G., Human Origins, New York; 1924.
- MacMichael, Harold A., History of the Arabs in the Soudan, Cambridge University Press, 1922.
- Neuss, W., Die Kunst der Alten Christen.
- Oliphant, Laurence, The Land of Gilead, Edinburgh and London; 1880.



- O'Leary, De Lacy, Arabia Before Mohammed. New York; 1924.
- \*Olmstead, Albert T., History of Assyria, New York, 1924.
- \*Olmstead, Albert T., History of Palestine and Syria, New York; 1931.  
(Much can be added, as indicated in Preface, and in heading of this bibliography. But there is nothing better in English now.)
- Palmer, E. H., Desert of the Exodus, New York, 1872.
- Peake, Harold, and Fleure, Herbert John, Peasants and Potters, New Haven, 1927.
- \*Peet, T. Eric, A Comparative Study of the Literature of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, London, 1929.
- Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, Cambridge University Press, 1930. (A description of all Egyptian antiquities found around the Mediterranean, with statement and map of their provenance. Rhodes, where more than 1500 objects have been found, is not included.)
- \*Petrie, Sir W. Flinders, Gerar, London, 1928.
- \*Petrie, Sir W. Flinders, Beth Pelet, London, 1931.
- Philby, Harry St. John, In the Heart of Arabia, New York, 1930.
- Plessis, Joseph, Etude sur les Textes Concernant Istar-Astarte, Paris, 1921.
- Pond, A. W., Bulletin of Logan Museum, Volume I, Number 2. (Researches at Mechta El-Arbi, Algeria). Beloit, 1928.
- \*Price, Ira Maurice, The Dramatic Story of Old Testament History, New York and Chicago, 1929
- \*Price, Ira Maurice, The Monuments and the Old Testament, 1925. New Rewritten Edition. (Was originally published in 1899, and reprinted sixteen times before the rewriting. Dr. Price holds this field in America.)
- Ratzel, History of Mankind, three volumes. (Translated from the German. Anthropological and ethnological; not "history.")
- Rihani, Ameen, Around the Coasts of Arabia, Boston and New York: 1930.
- Rihani, Ameen, Arabian Peak and Desert. (Ameen Rihani is a Syrian, a naturalized citizen of the United States, and the first man to travel all over Arabia, and interview all its rulers. Historically of the first importance. He does not enter into ancient history, but he is one of those who is showing that our Ethnological presuppositions about South Arabians have erred much.)
- Rodd, Sir Francis Rennel. Veiled People of the Sahara, London: 1926. (Study among the Tuaregs, the non-Semitic, non-Hamitic nomads of North Africa--the "Libyans" of Egyptian history.)
- \*Shorter, Alan W., An Introduction to Egyptian Religion. New York, 1932. (Special reference to the XVIIIth Dynasty. Prof. Shorter is assistant keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. His little book takes precedence over older books.)
- Sanford, K. S., and Arkell, W. J., Prehistoric Survey Expedition. Chicago, 1928. (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.) (A study of the geology of the Nile valley, to determine the relative chronology of the archaeological remains.)
- Schroeder, Dr. Paul, Die Phönizische Sprache, Halle, 1867.
- \*Smith, John M. P., Origin and Development of Hebrew Law. Chicago, 1931. (Contains translations of Hammurabi Code, Hittite and Assyrian Codes.)
- Smith, Eli, and Dwight, H. G. O., Missionary Researches in Armenia, 1836. (Valuable reconnoitering. Out of print.)
- \*Smith, Sidney, Early History of Assyria, London, 1928. (Sidney Smith is one of the British Museum staff. He deals with the period Olmstead could not touch four years before. There is much more now.)
- Smith, Robertson, The Religion of the Semites, New York, 1889. (Today it is familiar that most of his data are not "Semitic." Smith was not a scientific anthropologist.)
- \*Speiser, Ephraim J., Mesopotamian Origins. Philadelphia, 1930. (Prof. Speiser collates much of the new evidence showing our indebtedness to cultures and racial stocks in Asia Minor unknown to us fifteen years ago. Later discoveries greatly strengthen his position.)
- Sykes, Sir Percy, History of Persia, London, 1928. (New revised edition. The best English work. Sir Percy has spent years in Persia.)
- Tylor, Sir Edwin B., Primitive Culture.
- Woolley, Major C. L., The Sumerians, Oxford, 1929. (For many years famous as an excavator, Woolley is not so reliable as a historian. He does not wish to acknowledge any earlier culture than the Sumerian, a position refuted by such evidence as Speiser collects.)
- Wilkinson, Sir Gardner, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, New York, 1870 (?) (Three volumes. Still valuable in its announced field.)

## PART ONE

MINOAN-PHILISTINE-AEGAEAN INFLUENCES IN SOUTH  
PALESTINEA. Cultural and Ethnological Prolegomena.

1. "God, who at various times and with different fragments spoke unto the fathers in times past," begins the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This is a philosophy of providence in history that transcends all racial, tribal, national, sectarian, creedal or ecclesiastical limitations. It is glimpsed again in Acts 10:34. It asserts that many a kingdom and tribe and religion may have contributed to the stock of religious ideas and institutions that we now cherish. We trace some of them to "Hebrew" voices; but who are the various peoples that composed the Hebrew-speaking, Pre-Israelite, Pre-Judah Palestine? We must know with what peoples and cultures the invading Israel of Joshua (about 1200 B.C.) became amalgamated.

2. OT Names not Ethnological.

Such inquiry forces upon us both questions of fact and questions of method. The Old Testament thrusts many strange names upon us (e.g., Hittites, Amorites, Moabites, Arkites, Hivites, Horites, Ammonites, Amalekites, Perizzites, Gergesites, etc.) as the names of Pre-Israelite peoples. Are these racial or ethnological terms? names by which some ancient people called themselves? Or are they merely geographical or regional terms? It may be observed at once that the term "Hittite," a "stone of stumbling" to historians and to Biblical expositors for more than 2,000 years is now well known to be a political-geographical term, meaning any people dominant in a certain north-central Asia Minor area at a given time. But political, racial, and cultural hegemony changed several times in this area; so that the term "Hittite" in the OT does not always mean the same people and culture. The elementary English student of the OT, not knowing such facts, usually has unconscious ethnological presuppositions and assumptions which are in his way. Many, for illustration, assume that "Jew" (which is not an OT term) is a racial term--and so are lost at the outset.

3. Greek Terms not Ethnological.

The same fact confronts us in a few terms which we have accepted from the Greeks, notably in the case of "Phoenician," "Syrian," and "Arab." The Greek term phoinix means "red-skin." It has no linguistic, cultural, political, or geographical limitations. Greeks of the classic period grouped all the bronzed peoples east of the Mediterranean under this term. To assume one peculiar people, culture, language and political organization is to be wholly astray. (See Introduction to Evans' Palace of Minos.) The student should remember that there is no term in the Hebrew OT that can be ethnologically or politically translated "Phoenicia." We have the names of various coast towns, of various peoples and languages along the coast that Greeks much later called "Phoenician." But the OT gives no hint of different peoples and cultures in the earlier days of such towns.

Similarly, Herodotus introduces the term "Syria," explaining that he means the whole area from the east end of the Black Sea southwest to Egypt, and thence to about the middle of the south coast of the Black Sea. So the "Syria" of Herodotus includes more than a dozen different peoples, cultures and languages. But our modern western geographers give the name "Syria" to the area north of Palestine, from the Mediterranean east to the Euphrates and Damascus. But by the term "Syriac" scholars mean a peculiar Eastern Aramaic dialect and cursive script that developed in a late period of the Assyro-Babylonian area. All this is somewhat confusing to the new student. As for the misused term "Arab," that will be considered a little later.



#### 4. Cultures of Unknown Origin or Provenance.

In the first section we saw that the early church was challenged to accept the doctrine of a partial and progressive revelation of truth, coming through various cultural agencies; and that this compels an effort at fair evaluation of the various elements with which the church was in contact, even at the cost of personal peril, as in Luke 4:24-30. (Compare Luke 7:2-10; Matt. 8:10-12; Mark 3:31-35).

But if the OT presents us many names with no cultural or ethnological evaluation of them, driving us to extra-Biblical sources for information, it also thrusts upon us cultus and cultural elements of unknown provenance or racial origin. Some religious institutions opposed by the great prophets are proven by modern explorations to be those of nameless immigrant or invasive cultures; they are not aboriginal. Deut. 12:1-9 and 2K:23 voice a prophetic protest against some immemorial megalithic Mazzebôt or "standing-stones"--tomb-pillars. These menhirs and the associated dolmen-tombs and cromlechs are still found by the thousands in parts of Palestine, and are scattered across North Africa to the Atlantic. But modern research has discovered that they are not found through the Arabian Peninsula. Henry Field's explorations (Field Museum) have revealed the fact that they are not found east of the Hedjaz railway -- the eastern boundary of the Biblical Moab-Ammon-Bashan. They show us a culture that is not Arabian or "Semitic," as so often miscalled; allied with an ancient culture in North Africa. Survivals of it occur in modern Judaism.

#### 5. Cultus-Groves of Unknown Provenance.

Another outstanding feature in OT prophet-complaint is the evergreen or "wide spreading" tree (dense-topped). It is still a prominent feature in Palestine, and is often hung with votive rags. Originating often as "monument trees," like Deborah's "oak of weeping" (Gen. 35:8) the time could come when the name of the resident human spirit was forgotten, and the tree would be merely "an oak of oracle" for Abram (Gen. 12:6. AV wrongly "Plains" of Moreh). Or there might be a grove or clump of them, not more definitely known, as ages pass, than the one in northern Palestine now called Benat Yakob, "Daughters of Jacob."

But in all these we have an institution that is not found in the Arabian Peninsula. It did not come out of Arabia. The "sacred tree" is far more prominent in Northern Syria than in Palestine. The missionaries Smith and Dwight 100 years ago, (Missionary Researches in Armenia) reported sacred groves a chief feature of the Armenian hills; worshipped from afar, their empty shrines visited rarely, sometimes only once in ten years. More recently we know these sacred groves extend into the upper glens of the Caucasus Mountains. (See Marion F. Wasserman, "Free Svanetia": Asia, Feb. 1927). They came from that direction into Palestine. A course in "Pre-Mosaic Hebrew Religion" finds enough suggested by these and by the foregoing megaliths for a year's work. Our present concern is only to record that these features of the OT are neither Minoan, Egyptian, aboriginal or "Semitic."

#### 6. No Pre-Joshua History.

The student will observe that there is no attempt at even a sketch of the history of Egypt in the OT. There is not a hint of the thousands of years of pre-Israelite Palestine. Nothing whatever is told of the various peoples and cultures of Asia Minor. Thousands of years of the history of Assyria, Babylon, and other imperial cities of that region are unknown. So of the great regions still farther east, north, and south. Still more striking is it that though we have a legendary ancestor Abram (= "Ancestor"), we have no hint of the kind of culture in which he grew up, and from which he migrated. From the cuneiform inscriptions we know that Terah (Gen. 11:24-32) is the name of a god in the land of Harran: with Akkadian nominative case-ending, Tarhu. Yet we get no hint of the culture or of any religious cult in Harran. Nor do we get any suggestion of an idea or motive impelling Terah to leave Ur-Casdim (Gen. 11:31; a name that could not have existed till 1000 years after the supposed time of Abram. See Hastings' DB, "UR.") It is curious that other passages make Abram the one who wanted to leave Ur. But in the Palestine tales of Abram we get no hint of any idea that he wishes to impart to his new neighbors. In Ex. 6:3 we are told that the name El Shaddai was known to him, but not the name Yahu (ASV, "Jehovah"). Not a hint do we get of any peculiar cultus institutions. Finally Joshua is portrayed in Josh. 24:2, 14, 15, 23, as saying "Your fathers served other gods beyond the River," -- (Euphrates?) but there is not a line of description of





this ancestral cultus. Again we are dependent upon extra-Biblical sources for much that we want to know.

#### 7. Misuse of the Term "Semitic."

"To understand the Hebrew religion we must draw upon the widest possible fields of illustration, not even limiting it, as too zealous followers of Robertson Smith were at one time inclined to do, to what he called 'Semitic Religion,' a term which in view of the striking similarities between the ideas underlying the cults of the various countries round the Mediterranean basin, obviously needs enlarging. The Old Testament is to be read in the light of the religions of the peoples contemporary with it, as also in the light of those later indeed in time, but of similar religious development." -- L. E. Binns in JTS, July, 1931, p. 414 (reviewing S. A. Cook's Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology).

#### 8. Origin and Purpose of the Term.

In Gen. 10 and 11 is an effort to explain some people known to the compiler as being the descendants of three hypothetical brothers, Shem, Ham and Japhet. Actually, peoples of widely different stocks, languages, and cultures are grouped as descendants of one ancestor. (See Hastings' DB.) But about 150 years ago the German scholar and commentator Eichhorn proposed to use the name of Shem to designate a group of very peculiar allied languages: Hebrew, Phoenician, West Aramaic, East Aramaic or Syriac, classic Arabic, Ethiopic or Amharic. Since then there have been added to the group Akkadian or Assyro-Babylonian, Katabanian, Hadramautic, Sabaeen, Minaean, Nabatean, Lihyan, etc. No racial suggestions were made by Eichhorn; his proposition was purely philological. The oldest records since recovered show Aramaic or Hebrew or Akkadian spoken by much mixed peoples, and we do not know from which element in the mongrel populations the popular language came. We cannot put our finger upon a definite "Semitic race."

#### 9. Arabic Not the Oldest of the Group.

With the rise of modern comparative philology, about the middle of the last century, Semitic scholars sought to parallel what was known of the Indo-European languages. Of these, the Sanskrit was at first thought the "mother"; finally the "oldest sister." So the classical Arabic of the Koran was at first "guessed" to be the oldest Semitic language. Therefore, South Arabia had the oldest "Semitic" people; all things "Semitic" periodically "boiled" out of South Arabia when it grew over-crowded. No scholarly traveller had ever penetrated the South Arabian peninsula; there were no observed facts, no recovered records, to support the speculation. The student who knows only English may see old books and scholarly articles dominated by this exploded speculation. It is enough for this place to know: (1) that Semitic philologists have long abandoned it, and that they now know the Akkadian (2800 B.C.) or Assyro-Babylonian to be a much older form of Semitic speech than the Arabic of the Koran; (2) That careful and critical historians have steadily repudiated the use of the term "Semitic" as a racial one! They do not know any "Semitic race." (See Richardson, AJSL Oct. 1929; Gsell, HAAN vol. iv, 177; CAH Vol. i, 188) Buxton and Rice, in JRAI, 1931, p. 74, note). But we have hack-commentators and expository scribblers who know neither ethnology nor anthropology nor the history of progressive Biblical research. The student should remember that titles like Barton's Semitic Origins and Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites and Curtiss' Primitive Semitic Religion Today are expressions of an exploded speculation and of an outworn nomenclature.

#### 10. Ethnologists Repudiate South Arabian "Semites."

Ethnological expeditions into South Arabia (Yam, Asir, Yemen, Tihama, Hadramaut, etc.) report that the aboriginal culture, peasantry, and villager population is everywhere Hamitic, like eastern Somali peoples, speaking a non-Arabian language: the Arabs being an intrusive gentry from the north. "Tribe-towns" are all Hamitic. (Carl Rathjens, with Dr. Wissman and Mile. Apitz, Revue Asiatique, 1929, 141 ff; E. Glaser, 52 years ago; Bertram Thomas, in recent exploration of Ruba'a el-Khali; the Italian Giuffrè da Ruggeri; Eduard Naville, Egyptologist; and Norwegian Egyptologist Lieblein, 80 years ago; Niebuhr, in 1763, cited by Hogarth, p. 143; R. E. Cheeseman, Geog. Journal,



1925, p. 125; In Unknown Arabia, 254; Ameen Rihani, Arabian Peak and Desert; Philby, In the Heart of Arabia, s.v. Murra and Awamir). Herodotus and the Arab geographer Ibn Khaldoun also declared the "Puni" came from the South Arabia. "Arab" culture there begins with the southward push of the Minaean Kingdom (Maonites of Judg. 10:12) building on an older Hamitic culture. "To speak of Semites as a Bedawi overflow from Arabia is beside the mark"; (See S. A. Cook in CAH I: 191, bottom).

"There is no evidence of any northward migration from Arabia before Nabatean times" (about 500 B.C.) "All previous historic movements are from the north, into Arabia, forced by migrations from Asia." (J.P. Peters, "Home of the Semites" in JAOS, 1919, pp. 243-260) "It is high time that the Semitic hobby should, if not entirely disappear, at least cease to be the ruling element in the reconstruction of early Egyptian history." (Eduard Naville, PSBA p. 213 note) "There is a growing tendency to exaggerate the preponderance of Semitic influence in Eastern Libya. It has been long well-established that such place-names of Africa Minor as are not of Punic, Greek, or Roman origin were Berber." (not Arabic). (Orrice Bates, PSBA, 1912, p. 234f). "There was no uniform racial stock or physical type in ancient Arabia. So-called 'Semitic peoples' are the racially mixed population of Southwestern Asia; a social group of mixed ancestry. . . . Nor were these uniform in culture and institutions. . . . In the widest sense, all those that adopted a language of Semitic origin. In the narrower sense, therefore, it was a social group of relatively backward type: in the broader sense it includes all Semitic-speaking peoples: in neither sense does it imply a race, as understood in physical anthropology." (DeLacy O'Leary, Arabia Before Mohammed, p. 15) Cf. Buxton and Rice, JRAI, 1931, 74, Note)

#### 11. "Amorites" not "Semitic."

The above facts enable us to deal decisively with the theory of a great "Semitic Amorite" empire and the notion that Hammurabi of Babylon was an "Amorite." (See A. T. Clay, Amurru, The Home of the Northern Semites, 1909.) And we find the meaning of the savage Amurru reported in a religious text from Nippur, about 2700 B.C.

"On the mountain the weapon is his companion,  
To catch meat he crosses over the mountain.  
What is good he does not know;  
He eats uncooked meat.  
While he lives he has no house,  
His dead companion he does not bury.  
In the land (?) his protector (?) is the god Amurru.  
-- (Barton, 1925 edition, p. 539)

Also in the reign of Libit-Ishtar in Southern Babylonia, 2270 B.C. we are told of the savage Amurru breaking in from the south; they submitted to Ibi-Sin 100 years later. (Museum Journal, 1926, p. 374)

Now the explorers cited in the preceding paragraph show us these wild peoples beginning at Jabrin, 200 miles south-west of the Gulf of Bahrein, and ranging south to the Gulf of Aden. Northernmost are the Murra (singular, Marri). These are the Aal Morra of Hogarth, whose emphasis in 1904 upon the fact that up to that time the Empty Quarter had never been crossed adds to the value of the recent explorations. (Penetration of Arabia, 139, 147, 171, 333 ff.) South through the Empty Quarter, are their enemies, 'Awamir (singular, Amir) and the 'Amur (singular 'Amri). Philby (2:227) reports the Murra as one element of a tribal confederation, the Ahl Yam, centered in the Najran, and only recently touched by Islam: the wild 'Awamir living on camel-milk and Oryx-meat and with little clothing (p. 222). Cheeseman later reported the Murra whom he saw as pagan in 1921, and knowing very little Arabic, while the 'Awamir speech was not Arabic but "a series of grunts." (Vide Supra: also Philby 2:118, 176, 182, 188, 204, 217, 222, 229 f.) Bertram Thomas, who spent 15 years in Arabia ere he crossed the Empty Quarter from the south, reports the languages as Hamitic, of the Mehri and Sokotri group. The case for "Semitic Amorites" is lost!

(It should be said that the French coffee merchants of St. Malo who reached Sana'a in 1712 learned that the whole interior of the Empty Quarter was inhabited by Mahrî-speaking peoples, for it is so marked on La Roque's map, 1712, and D'Anville's, 1755. But Hogarth, p. 213, never grasped the fact that Mahrî is not Arabic!)



## 12. More from Bertram Thomas, 1929-1932.

More fully in the JRAI (1929, Jan. to June p. 97: 1932, Jan. to June, pp. 83-95) Thomas reports aboriginal non-Semitic peoples of four languages. The name "Arab" was not ethnic, with the desert folk. "From what Arabs are you?" he was often asked! It meant only "desert folk." He quotes Maitland, British resident in Aden, about 1900: "The tall hawk-faced 'Arab' (as we call him) from the north is only a Must-Areb for these Southern people: 'Arab' by adoption, or naturalization!"

Thomas reports that the following non-Arabic-speaking tribes, Qara, Mahra, Shahrara, Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, Bit Astart, Harasis and Afar are nomadic; the Bautahara are fishers. The others form a solid block of mountain-folk, with a common, unique, non-Arabic culture. There are other mountain folk, of the same brachycephalic type, and like culture, who are now speaking Arabic; the Manahil, 'Awâmir ('Amîr), Sa'ar, Mashai, Hamumi and Yafi. He quotes Ibn Batuta (AD 1325 ff.) who visited Dhufar and said that its people were like those of N.W. Africa in customs, and that the inland population was not Arab, but of Sudanic type.

## 13. Sheba the First South Arab Kingdom.

In Section 10 reference was made to the explorations of Rathjens and von Wissman in 1927-29, published in 1929. Arnaud in 1843 and Halévy in 1869 had learned a little of Saba-Yemen at great risk; afterwards the Austrian scholar Glaser, in 1888, gathered many inscriptions which have not yet been made available to the general public. In 1927-28 Rathjens and von Wissman excavated the temple of a Sabaean Sun goddess, Dhât Bahdân, at Hugga, 25 miles north of Sanaâ, the present capital of Yemen. Its period was from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.

In 1931, they made a second expedition. They brought home about 2000 inscriptions and 500 specimens. The site was plainly Hamitic till about 1000 B.C.; statues were of the same shape and technique as those of earliest Egypt! The earliest inscriptions recovered were about 800-700 B.C. The early Hamitic buildings were round, like those of Zimbabwe in Rhodesia; those of Sabaean invaders are rectangular. Artificial tombs-chambers cut in the cliffs, with statues cut in the round and placed in niches, are like Hamitic Egypt again. The explorers summarize by saying that Semitic-speaking invaders from the north founded "Sheba" upon a very old Hamitic culture. Still later invaders from the north founded the Semitic-speaking coastal states of Hadramaut and Kataban. Since Solomon's accession is usually dated about 977 B.C., the Queen of Sheba who visited him must have been one of the earliest of this southward-pushing Semitic-speaking colony. But the connection of David and Solomon with this push into South Arabia is at present shrouded in mystery. (B. Tügel, ILN, 10-7-1933. 3 pp. 10 photos: one temple-restoration.)

## 14. No "Arabs" in the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

In Section 3, consideration of the Greek misuse of the term "Arab" was deferred. Their misapprehension of it as an ethnological term including all the peoples of the peninsula, passed on to the Romans and to us, has confused history. But ancient Egypt does not know any people who called themselves "Arabs." There are people of the "sand-wastes," but they are not ethnically designated. So in the cuneiform inscriptions we read of hundreds of peoples, but of no "Arabs," though they often tell of "Arameans." In JSOR (Jan.-Apr. 1932, pp. 1-37) T. W. Rosmarin gathers all the cuneiform passages that speak of aribi, arubu, arbai, etc. The earliest occurrence is in Shalmaneser III's account of the battle of Qarqar, 854 B.C. in which King Ahab was engaged. Assyrian history reaches back 2000 years earlier, without any occurrence of the term.

Now the term is always regional. It is significant that the term A-ri-bi is used by Sargon (Annals 162: Prunkinschrift) of the arid Persian Plateau. Rosmarin finds a Mat-aribi or urbi, or aribu, 55 times = "an aribi land" or region. With the determinative amelu, "man", we have 51 times amelu urbi, aribi, arabi, arubu, arbai: "a man of the wilderness." But such a combination followed by the plural sign meš, so as to express a people who called themselves by that name, never occurs! Assyria did not know any peoples called "Arabs." Also, no such "men of the wilderness" are spoken of south of Teyma (Teman of the OT).



### 15. No "Arabs" in the Old Testament.

After the above, the like fact in the OT will not surprise. In Genesis 10, 11, is the effort to explain the ancestry of many Semitic-speaking peoples, Sheba, Dedan, Raamah, Eber, Asshur, Aram, Uz, Hul, Gether, Mash, Joktan and his descendants. But the compiler did not know an "Arab" people who had to be provided with an ancestor! Again in Gen. 25: 9-4 and 12-15 are about 30 more tribal names, but no "Arab"! In Gen. 36 is a long list of Edomite chiefs or leaders--but none are called "Arab"! As a folk-name or stock-name, the term "Arab" was not known to these genealogy-compilers.

We may recognize then that the very few occurrences in the prophets must be considered regional expressions, as in the cuneiform inscriptions; not ethnic. Jer. 25:24 has "all the Kingdoms of 'Arab, even all kinds of the mixed peoples that dwell in the wilderness," (The English student should know that in Jeremiah's time, a thousand years before the invention of vowel-points, the same consonants that our AV translates "Arab" could mean "mongrel" or "mixed-blood", or "raven", "willow", "evening", "westland", or "desert." There is really no reason for inserting our term "Arab" into the translation.) Compare then Is. 13:20; 21:13; Jer. 3:2; Ezek. 27:21; 2 Chron. 9:14; 21:16; 26:7; 22:1; Neh. 2:19, 4:7; 6:1. It should be noticed that 1 Kings, 10:15 translate "mixed peoples," like above Jeremiah passage, where the AV of 2 Chron 9:14 has "Arabians." It would appear that "mixed peoples" are meant in each Chronicler passage. And it is possible that Nehemiah passages mean merely "mongrel", "mixed blood", "half-breed": compare Neh. 13:3 where this same term, erēb is used.

### 16. The Method of Robertson Smith.

Section 2 opened with the statement that both questions of fact and questions of method were thrust upon us; and the statement has been followed by a great body of facts, not known in the days of Robertson Smith and Wellhausen and the publication of Driver's LOT, (1891). The student, from the foregoing facts, knows something of what is meant by the anthropological method of study, and must decide whether or no he can do without it.

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor has been called "the father of modern anthropology." He was professor of anthropology at Oxford. His scientific studies in Mexico, 1856, produced his Anahuac, or Mexico and the Mexicans, 1861. His Researches Into the Early History of Mankind appeared in 1865 (second edition 1870); Primitive Culture 1871 (second and third editions before 1889); Anthropology (now in its seventh edition) in 1881. In 1888 he was Gifford Lecturer at Aberdeen. Yet Robertson Smith brought out his Religion of the Semites in 1889, ignoring the thirty years of work and method, of his Oxford neighbor. For Smith's fundamental assumptions are not reconcilable with such broader anthropological methods and studies. These have discredited Smith, as well as Wellhausen's Reste Arabische Heidenthums. Wellhausen's "three fundamental positions have been seriously shattered" writes Canon Battersby-Harford, (Articles "Since Wellhausen", Expositor, 1925: collected into a volume 1926). "The Exegetical errors and archaeological ignorance of Wellhausen make discussion useless," writes Max Löhr of Königsberg (OLZ, Nov. 1930, p. 894). "The most conspicuous trend in OT criticism now is that the Wellhausen School has been too much under the influence of Arabian analogies." (S.A. Cook, JTS, 1924-5, p. 161) In short, Smith and Wellhausen simply assumed or imagined that certain institutions and ways of thinking which interested them were of "Semitic" or "Arab" origin. Then when they found the like among various peoples who spoke non-Semitic languages, they assumed again that such peoples had borrowed from the Arabs. The student will recognize that such method is purely fantastic. Mere "analogies" do not prove interrelation, or origin in a single race of stock. Hence, all books dominated by Robertson Smith-Wellhausen speculations are heavily discounted--some totally discredited.

### 17. The Stone Age in Palestine.

The student must now consider another body of evidence, wholly unknown till within the last 15 years, and determine whether it should be ignored or not. Artifacts of bone or stone, associated with human skeletons and with those of species of mammals extinct ages ago--all in various old geological strata convince geologists and anthropologists that man has been in the world for 500,000 years. (Some see evidence pointing to 1,500,000 years. G. G. MacCurdy's Human Origins should be in reach for a general





reference book.) But now we have proof that humanity has been in Palestine as long as anywhere in Europe; and the very oldest agricultural implements known to us come from the caves of Palestine.

#### 18. Summary to (not including) 1930.

This brief summary should be verified by reference to the outstanding authorities cited.

This originally cavern-dwelling people was not related to any Arabian stock. See S. A. Cook, RAP, 72-74: Duncan 1-17. They were agricultural. They had the oldest flint-tooth sickles and hand-mills yet known to us. They had agriculture before pottery. They had no cattle, nor sheep. (S. A. Cook, 74) These came in at a later time from Central Asia (Macalister, near 2,000 B.C.). So they were not nomadic. Nomad institutions do not underlie the OT popular culture. They cultivated the rich lowlands, dwelling in caves in the adjacent slopes, as some American agricultural Indians have done. (It should be remembered that our agricultural Indians also had no domestic animals save the dog, and also had agriculture before pottery.) Their hill-sites often became towns in time. Their relics are already familiar at Gezer (Duncan I:3, 12, 60); at Mizpah (Duncan I:109); at Jerico (Duncan 3, 122); at Taanach, Beth-pelet, Gath(?) (Duncan I: 180, 146, 215); in the Onhel caves at Jerusalem (Duncan I:3, 14, 17, 35, 40 f); at Megiddo (Duncan I:3, 41, 57); and Teleilat el-Ghassûl (I' Illustration 7-11-1931). (Further details in Egyptian paper). But a unified state, a politically centralized Palestine is no more existent than a unified prehistoric Greece.

#### 19. Natufian: Wady Shukbah.

Since the above compilations, Miss Dorothy Garrod, of the British School of Archaeology in Palestine, made like discoveries in the Wady Shukbah, a few miles southwest of the site of Samaria, northeast of Joppa in the Natuf cave. Hence the particular stage of culture is called "Natufian." By the spring of 1933, three dozen skeletons had been found. They were a long-headed, somewhat stooped folk, about 5-1/2 feet high, not related to any Arabian people, but showing affinities with the Mediterranean stock, and with its Mesolithic stage of development. Dr. G. G. MacCurdy places their era at 20,000 years ago, and observes that their sickles and stone mortars are twice as old as any elsewhere known. Neolithic mortars found elsewhere are not more than 10,000-12,000 years old. For a sickle the student must understand a curve of wood, the inner curve set with blades of flint, like safety-razor blades, so as to make a continuous cutting edge. These folk also had agriculture long before pottery. Curved bones set with such flint blades were also found. The Natufians collected and burned the bones of their dead after decomposition was complete. There was also evidence that at times the agriculturists were reduced to cannibalism - or did they eat slain enemies? We do not know. (N. Y. Times 4-22-1933; Pasadena Star-News, 10-22-1932; SNL 9-24-1932).

#### 20. Athlit-Wady Mugharah - Cave of the Oven.

Twenty miles west of Nazareth, two miles southeast of the Crusader castle of Athlit, on the seaward slope of Mt. Carmel lies the Wady Mugharah Valley of Caves. It is about 60 miles north of the above Shukbah site; about twelve miles south by west of the Carmel point that encloses the Bay of Haifa. The largest cave is Mugharet el-Wâd, or Cave of the Oven, three miles from Athlit. Important indications being found there, Miss Garrod was promptly transferred in 1929 from Shukbah. Through five years a succession of surprises has come. (1) 5,000 artifacts of Aurignac type were taken out in the first ten days. (2) Beneath a top stratum of the Bronze Age there was no neolithic or smooth-stone stratum. From around 20,000 B.C. to the Bronze Age the cave had been unoccupied. But below the Mesolithic stratum were four Palaeolithic strata, the lowest equivalent to the Mousterian of France, usually dated 50,000 years ago (Dr. MacCurdy dates this 75,000 years ago.) A chief anthropological interest has centered in the fossil skeletons found embedded in the hard stone of the stratum--first three, then more, then more--finally twelve. They were brought to the Royal College of Surgeons in London in November, 1933. The people had been formally buried in their cavern-home, in soft ground. Then a stream carrying much lime had solidified the soft stratum into limestone. The student should recognize that formal burial in a cavern-home 30,000 to 50,000 years ago carries much information about their thought of the hereafter.



## 21. Neanderthal or not?

The first partially-revealed skulls showed huge beetling orbital ridges or "eyebrows," like the famous Neanderthal man; and, like him, seemed to have no chin. When a dozen were found in this one cave-cemetery, archaeologists were astounded; that is about as many as have been found in all Europe since 1848. But as the limestone is being gradually chipped away, it appears that these people were tall and straight, while the short, sturdy Neanderthaler was much stooped. Also, some partly-cleaned skulls are clearly larger than the Neanderthal skulls, and indicate higher intelligence. Hence some preëminent ethnologists like MacCurdy and Sir Arthur Keith now suspect that an entirely new species of man has been found. The student will wait till the skeletons are completely cleaned--some months yet, perhaps.

## 22. Mesolith Agriculturists, Wady El-Mughârah.

Reverting to the upper Mesolith stratum 20,000 years or more later than the above, these people, also buried in their cave-homes. Bone pins, harpoons with barbs on one side only, sickle-forms in abundance (one with two flint-blades still in place), well-made basins hewn in the rock on the terrace outside the cave, quadrangular slabs of lime-stone set on edge to make an enclosing wall (the earliest ever yet found), lime-stone mortars, basalt pestles, sickle-flints polished by much use. Some burials, on hearths, packed about with large stones. There seemed to be a shelf for offerings by one grave. There were rude carvings, beads, shell ornaments, and a cape or shroud of such. As at other sites, there was no pottery. The basins hewn in the stone terrace may have been for the purpose of cooking by dropping in hot stones. (Sir Arthur Keith, ILN, 2-2-1929; London Times, 9-8-1930, p. 7; 4-7-1931; 5-4-1932; 5-21-1932, p. 9; SNL, 5-14-1932; 12-17-1932; 2-11-1933; Science, 12-23-1932; N.Y. Times, 1-11-1933; Longacre Daily Herald, 11-4-1933).

## 23. Mughâret el-Kebârah Mesolithic.

Ten miles south of above Wady Mughârah, near the modern Jewish settlement of Zichron Jacob, Turville-Petre began in 1931. Five strata found by 1933. Under the recent stratum lay a Lower Natufian - the lower Mesolithic of above W. Mughârah, thus showing the same culture contemporary at several different sites. Beneath lay the same older strata as at W. Mughârah.

Most interesting was the extraordinary number of bone implements, including delicate one-sided harpoons and carvings of animal heads on ends of sickle-hafts. Many sickle-hafts were of bone instead of wood. Miss Garrod recognizes the whole agricultural stratum as identical with what she found in Mughâret el-Wâd. (Man, Aug. 1931, 159; BASOR, April 1932; AJA, 1933, p. 161.)

## 24. Wady Khreitûn: Petroglyphs.

M. Neuville, French Vice-Consul at Jerusalem, and long pre-eminent in Palestinian pre-historic archaeology, announced in 1929 the discovery of one of the most important palaeolithic sites yet found in Palestine. The lowest stratum in this cave he considered at least as old as the most ancient human deposits yet discovered in Europe, which would be ages older than anything above reported (and not vital to our immediate point). (N.Y. Times, 7-14-1929) The cave is in the Wady Khreitûn about seven miles southeast of Bethlehem. (The name Khreitûn is an Arab corruption of the Byzantine Chariton, name of a monastery built there.) More vital is this fact: at the Umm el-Katafah in this valley in 1932 he found the same Lower Natufian agriculturist culture that Miss Garrod and her associates found at above sites. All the essential features are repeated. And again at Umm es-Zuweitina, south of the Wady Khreitûn, in 1933 he found the same agriculturist culture, with most of the characteristic Natufian artifacts, including a grooved bone sickle-haft with a flint still in place. A statuette of a cervoid animal in grey limestone was found in a hearth. Angle-gravers, microlith crescents, and a few Tardenoisian micro-gravers told of art-work. Besides sickle-blades there were end-scrapers and core-scrapers.

But the great surprise at Umm El-Khatafa was the series of petroglyphs on the rock: a charging elephant with upright hair, a sort of crest and mane; two hippo-



potami, peaceful and stupid; a second elephant with a heavy club-tail; some cervoid animal, without horns; a wild boar; a fine one-horned rhinoceros; a black animal, not clear; some cervoid, grazing. All are on the same level, facing the entrance of the cave. An ox head is drawn behind the last cervoid. The elephants have no tusks. All appear to be of the Natufian Mesolithic and comparable to the Magdalenian of France. These are the first ever found in Palestine. Hunting and fishing implements are mixed with agricultural. (ILN, 11-5-1932, 2 pp. 3 pictures; BASOR, 49, p. 16; AJA, 1933, p. 162; QDAP.)

## 25. Teleilat el-Ghassûl: Not Sodom.

The name may be translated "Hillocks of soap-plant" or "lye-plant"; there is an abundance of a plant whose ashes are used in washing or soap-making. Because of an abundance of ashes found in first excavations some hasty scribblers announced the discovery of the Biblical Sodom. All such the student will reject, with Hastings' DB article. All Biblical, classical, patristic evidence places Sodom at the southwest curve of the Dead Sea (Collected by Pere M. J. Lagrange, Revue Biblique, October, 1932, 489-514).

The site is three and a half miles north of the Dead Sea, three miles east of the Jordan. Excavations began January 17, 1929; have continued at intervals. Four strata have been reported. The two lowest certainly belong to the stone age; possibly the two upper also. A few bits of copper found may have been brought by traders. The last city was burned somewhere between 2500-2000 B.C., in the opinion of eight explorers. Albright doubts if there is anything later than 3000 B.C. The oldest cities were built of soft mud blocks piled together. The people had not learned to use stones or mould brick. Mud pits or silos stored grain. For such people, the early settlements were not walled; not even a rampart of earth. There must have been little fear of marauders. How much older than 4000 B.C. the beginning was is not yet certain. Our immediate interest is its non-Arabian culture, very long in development on one site, and continuing when finally abandoned, in the lowest strata at Jericho--a gradual development from the Natufian stage. See Section 19: the authorities there cited recognized the fact, in the first year of the excavations. Since then a close study of the oldest culture at Tell Fara<sup>6</sup> recognizes development into the Ghassûlian, and identities with the Ghassûlian are regularly noted. Pottery is found in the Ghassûlian. The oldest Tell Fara<sup>6</sup> is Palaeolithic, and has none, but soon develops mud and chopped straw pottery. (MacDonald, Beth Pelet II). The debris strata, nine feet in depth, mean a very long continuous occupation. The Ghassûlian pottery is fine and persists longer, but an identity of artifacts lasts through centuries (Albright, BASOR, Dec. 1932).

Unique is the fact that in the last Ghassûlian town polychrome wall-paintings were found--the oldest known outside Egypt; and language-signs on various objects, not like anything hitherto known. (ZDPV., 1932, 26-42; Biblica, XIII, 3, pp. 273-292; AJA, 1933, p. 162; Syria, 1932, 334-244; N.Y. Times, 1-16-1933; N.Y. Sun, 1-17-1933)

## 26. Jebel Tubaik Petroglyphs.

The surprising Mesolith rock-drawings of Umm Katafa (Section 24) now have company. The Glueck-Horsfield expedition from Mafraq to Kilwa, in the Trans-Jordan region, 1933, found the sides of a hard sandstone ridge for some hundreds of yards carved with figures of animals, chiefly of the ibex type. Lines, sharp and clear, had been weathered into the same color as the original rock. The artist had first punched an outline of fine holes, then proceeded to chisel the outlines, working from right to left, in diagonal lines /////////////// till the small splinters of rock cracked off where the holes were previously made. The discoverers decided that the drawings are related to the vast body of such art discovered in North Africa by Frobenius. Albright admits the kinship. The discoverers think the drawings are from the same period as Neuville's finds at Umm Katafa.


## 27. Summary of Aboriginal Culture.

The last ten sections while showing no Arabian elements in early Palestine, have meanwhile shown a great aboriginal agricultural culture there, persistent through the last 20,000 years, whatever peoples may have been there in earlier geologic ages.



Archaeologists recognize their older cultural stages as Capsian, then <sup>Tunisia</sup> Mesolithic, then Neolithic. (The name Capsian is from Roman Capsa, modern Gafsa, in ~~Algeria~~, the site where a particular stage of artifact-development was first studied.) Anatomists and ethnologists agree that the people were rather small, slender, unrelated to any Arabian peoples, apparently a Mediterranean stock; their closest relations being found among those we call Berbers, now spread across North Africa. The persistence of their physical type in the coastlands of modern Palestine is asserted by observing ethnologists. The student is to decide whether this basal element in the population of the OT Palestine can be ignored. And he is to remember that each season now brings new knowledge of their prehistoric past.

## 28. Early Threshing of Grain.

We have seen that these people cultivated grain for ages before they had cattle. Hence they did not thresh by making cattle tramp it, as shown in Egyptian pictures, or Deut. 25:4; I Cor. 9:9; I Tim. 5:18, nor by dragging a sledge over it, as in Is. 41:15. Beating with sticks or flails, known among Greeks and Romans, and to all ancient peoples of Europe, would be the only method. Beating out grain persists in Judg. 6:11; Ruth 2:17; Micah 4:13; Is. 27:12; 28:27. And in modern Palestine, in the East Jordan region, Moslem Bedawin grow the sacred "prophets' barley" with much ritual, and dare not thresh it with oxen, but with flails or staves. (L. Bauer, MDPV, 1911, p. 89). The Egyptian historical records, for more than a thousand years before such Biblical passages, often group all Syro-Palestinian as Aamu. It has been conjectured that this term means "boomerang people" (Revue Biblique, 1929, p. 570, note 7) and the boomerang suggested to be the familiar determinative for any foreign land. But universal boomerang-throwing has not been proved, and the determinative for a foreign land seems to be a good flail, . If the historic Egyptians spoke of "flail-people," it would indicate that contemporary Palestinians were notably tenacious of prehistoric agricultural devices.

## 29. What Institutions Will Agriculture Produce?

Read the secular laws and customs in Exodus 21-23 ("Book of the Covenant," of the document-analysts). Observe (1) no herd and flock legislation, (2) no pasture-land prescriptions. (3) Nothing of hunting, tenting and camping laws; nothing at all of the nomadic life. (4) Nothing at all of commerce, trade, shops, etc. (5) All shows a simple agricultural people, with agricultural festivals. Is it not clear that the foundations of Hebrew social life and customs were laid by such "non-Semitic", non-Arabian, non-nomadic, agricultural people, as archaeology is showing us? Read Olmstead, Chap. II, (History of Palestine and Syria) discarding his "Armenoid" interpolation. Or Shailer Mathews (GIG) "The Hebrews did not invent monotheism and did not live in the deserts. The history of the Hebrew people was a struggle between folk-polytheism, and prophetic henotheism."

## 30. Did this agricultural cave-people really persist?

Explorers agree that it did; local phases always influenced by foreign trade. Thus Asia Minor influences are inevitable in the north, Egyptian in the south, and those of the Hamitic peoples whom we have seen in South Arabia (See Sections 10-15.) from very early times. Some influence comes from the sea. People who drew traders by their agricultural produce would continue to do so. The eventual appearance of a little copper among people who had not yet reached the polished stone stage does not mean their extinction or expulsion. It only means better trade. Hence the conclusion that the culture of such sites must be regarded as continuous, whatever foreign influence came in (S. A. Cook, p. 90). Père Mallon regards Teleilat El-Ghassul as the finest ancient city-site of this culture. Its last stage is identical with the oldest (first) city-culture at Jericho, before 2500 B. C., over which several later cities were built; and is identical with the earliest city-culture at Gezer. Not fortified, it suggests a peaceful people, with no serious political or racial rivalries. Of the grottos in Southern Judea, that of "ugharet Umm Katafa presents the finest example, unmingled with later culture. Umm Kalah, or "Fortress Cave" has later Bronze culture in addition. These are in bluffs of the Wady Khreitoun. El-Masa' on the same Wady shows the early Gezer-Jericho culture. So does Tell el-Mustah, the Biblical Beth-Nimrah on the Wady Shaib, ten miles east-north-east of Jericho. (See





Hastings' map; Neuville, JPOS, 1930, 201 ff; Neuville and Maillon, Syria, 1931, 24 ff). Khirbet 'Adeimeh six miles east of the mouth of the Jordan, has a like culture, with a dolmen-field south of it.

### 31. Can Cave-peoples Become Town-builders?

In Section 18 was pointed out the fact that this cave-dweller culture at Gezer eventually became a town. It was stated that the caves of Ophel contain this same Mesolithic culture. But Ophel is the southeastern spur of the hill outside the "city of David" on which Solomon built his temple. And all scholars in matters of Jerusalem know that the Temple-Hill stands over an ancient sacred cave. That hill and cave remain sacred to many people because ancient cave-people held them so.

Sir Harry H. Johnston (Story of My Life, 321 f.) shows the present coexistence of all stages of development in the ancient Berber cave-site of Matmata (southern Tunis). (1) An unimproved "crevice or hollow in the limestone." (2) Wide entrance partly closed by planting timber-stakes. (3) Enlargement of the natural cavity by hewing. (4) A precipitous front or wall of limestone, in which doors or windows are left, the interior hewed into three or four rooms. (5) A horizontal or one-level system: into a stone pit or depression a gully-path descends: cave-homes are hewed out all around the plaza-court at the bottom. (6) The gully-path may be covered with a vaulted roof, protecting all descent. Some such "pit-towns" are large enough for a whole clan.

### 32. Are There Traditions in the OT of these Aborigines?

There are megalithic regions and vanished peoples in the OT referred to as "Rephaim." Israel never saw any, never fought with any. People who had been Anakim once are now "Rephaim" in Deut. 2:11; so also the Zamzumim in 2:20. The former Bashan people are now "Rephaim" in several passages. But the term is the regular Hebrew word for "ghosts, phantoms." Hence the German scholar Karge, agreeing with others as to the actual application of the term, calls his monumental work upon the megalithic tombs of Palestine, "Rephaim." The term is specifically "ghosts" or phantoms in Is. 14:9; 26:14-19; Ps. 8:11; Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16; Job 26:5. As a place-name then it suggests a necropolis, or specter-haunted region; as in Gen. 14:5; 15:20; Deut. 2:11, 20, 3:11, 13; Josh. 12:4; 13:12; 17:15; 15:8; 18:16; 2 Sam. 5:18; 23:13; 1 Chron. 11:15; 14:9; Is. 17:5; in all cases but one, regions east of the Jordan. In only seven of these 24 passages have various late LXX translators guessed gigantes. There is no archaeological justification, no skeletal support for the word "giants" in some AV passages. "The Rapha" of 2 Sam. 21:16; 18, 20, 22; 1 Chron. 20:4, 6, 8, probably means people of the Philistine coast-town of Rapha or Raphia, southwest of Gaza. Is it Beth-Raphia in South-west Judah, of 1 Chron. 4:12? Further, the Greek word gigant is explained by old classic authors to mean "Earth-born," without reference to size (cf. Liddell & Scott, and Stephens).

### 33. Can These OT Rephaim Have Been Near the Time of the Israel Conquest of the Region?

English explorers in 1930-31 found a line of Bronze Age cities (2000-1200 B.C.) running south from Bashan through Ammon, Moab and Edom, with great copper mines in the latter two. And a basalt stele with an unknown script was found in Moab. This powerful culture can hardly be the origin of the "ghostland" tradition of the OT. For the tradition is far older! The Egyptians had it more than 1000 years before Israel settled in Palestine. Their records, from Menthu-hotep III (205 B.C. ff.) apply the term Ta-Neteru to all this region in 17 cases: to Punt (Somaliland South Arabia?), in 23 cases (ARE). Ntr is usually translated "gods" in English, partially obscuring the facts. Lidzbarski (3:126) observes that ntr commonly signifies "as dead"; and that ntr ntr is a "necropolis" or "world of the dead." So this trans-Jordan region, swarming with megalithic tombs, was a "land of (ancestral?) dead": of phantoms or monuments, to the ancient Egyptians. And Israel accepted the idea when passing through that land.

Furthermore, a close examination of all these ancient Bronze Age stations shows that they all disappeared with the beginning of the Middle Bronze; practically simultaneously (around 1700 B.C.), 500 years or more before the Israelite invasion of the



region. The Israelites gained enough contact with the people of their own time to secure definite traditions of this earlier conquest. (Glueck, BASOR, Sept. 1933, p. 18)

#### 34. Recurring to Section 4.

The explorations have shown that this prehistoric people in its Mesolithic stage practiced cave-burial, with bowls or "cup-marks" cut in the stone besides the grave at times, for offerings to the dead, some 20,000 years ago. Also artificial "cave-tombs," megalithic mazzebôt, dolmens, gilgals, and other features of the "high places" of our AV. Such rock-cut tombs persisted in Israelite and later Jewish times. (In "Pre-Mosaic" course.)\* We then have to recognize some of the most persistent Jewish ideas and practices connected with death and burial as established in Palestine for ages before Israel settled there. And modern exploration also shows these megalithic institutions did not exist in Ancient Arabia. (Field Museum Expedition, 1929). Nor are such sanctuaries known among nomad Arabs of modern North Arabia. And Major C. S. Jarvis (p. 44) reports that swearing by an ancestral tomb or sheikh is unknown in the modern Egyptian province of Sinai, of which he has been governor for nine years. All writing about either cave-tombs or megalithic necropolises as "Semitic high-places" is fundamentally misleading.

#### 35. What Were These People Called?

We do not know their name for themselves. Their language is unknown. Some form of it may be extant in an unknown language discovered at Ras Shamra, the ancient Ugarit, in recent years. In Section 11 it was shown that the theory, that the mysterious "Amorites" were Semitic, is exploded. It may be these ancient peoples were the Amorites. The term Amurru (ideogram MAR-TU) means merely "Western" or "Southwestern." It may mean any people at all west of the speaker. In the Assyrian inscriptions the term Amurru persists and is not restricted in application to any one region or stock, any more than "westerner" is so restricted in America. In the same way, in early Christian times in Egypt all the various tribes east of Egypt were Shirakin or "Easterners." We turn the term into "Saracen." But one result was that the mixed marauders west of Egypt were also called "Saracen." But the Sumerians called their trade-coast on the Mediterranean,

MARTU: in Akkadian commercial vernacular, Amurru, (English, "Westport"), and the name stuck, appearing in Egyptian records as Amor: in late Greek, Marath-us, modern Amrit, near Arvad (Ruad). The Akkadian term was probably used by later people as the designation for all this aboriginal culture-people of Palestine. The Arab still calls the Berber folk of Morocco-Algiers, Maghrebi or "westerners." Duncan uses "Amorite" to mean the advanced culture that began to build cities upon old cavern sites, between 2000-2500 B.C. (e.g. pp. 38, 89 f., 93.) But he later admits the "Amorite" was akin to the North African (plate facing 63). But scholars who do not recognize the early rude town-builders as invaders, but as a development of the ancient agricultural cavern-people, will say that "Amorite" in Palestine should mean this "aboriginal" people. It may be observed that Ezekiel credits the founding of Jerusalem to the "Amorite." (Ezek. 16:3, 45; cf. Gen. 14:7, 13; 15:16; 48:22; Deut. 2:24; Judges 1:34 f, 11:19ff.). Observe that the pre-patriarchal population of Palestine is regularly called "Amorite." Observe again that the Amorite names Aner, Eshcol, Mamre, in Gen. 14:13; 24, are not Semitic names. The "Amorites" are not a "Semitic" people. In Gen. 50:13, Num. 13:24 Mamre and Eshcol are place-names near Hebron. As to Amorites founding Jerusalem, in Ezekiel's assertion, we have seen that Ophel the original city, began with the cave-dwellers. (Duncan 14:36, 40 f.) But we do not see a great "Amorite" state; an imperial Palestine. We have early valley-cultivating communities, developing some independent towns. See Section 35-b, opposite.

#### 36. Consider Amorites in the OT.

The student must now do this work himself. In Gen. 10, there is no effort to tell the ancestry of the old people of "Palestine," for the ancient world had no geographical term for what we call by that name. Second, there is no hint of what Semitic-speaking peoples were in Palestine before Israel; the compilers do not seem to know.

---

\* Dr. Godbey here refers to his unpublished "Outlines" on Pre-Mosaic Institutions, a course he taught at Duke University.

35-b. The Sumerian "Amorites" -- (Supplemental, June 1, 1934.)

Clarifying Section 35 -- P. Dhorme in Revue Biblique, 1928, 61 ff. gathers all the cuneiform material containing the terms MAR.TU or Amurru: holding to the theory that the terms are Ethnic, or Ethnological, meaning always a particular people and culture. He has not proved it. Sidney Smith of the British Museum agrees that "Amurru does not express any linguistic or racial unity: it is merely a geographical term, and used rather vaguely." (EBA, 176 ff: 371, notes 17, 18) Frankfort observes that some writers give the term an ethnological connotation that it does not possess. It is used of any people west of the speaker or writer.

Reverting then to the above Sumerian "Westport", observe first Burckhardt's observation (1822) that the Baalbek district is Jebel es-Sharkā, or "eastern mountain," while the Lebanon range is "Western mountain" (TSHL, p. 4). The distinction still exists. We now know that the westward push of the Sumerian king Lugal-Zaggisi (Section 67) was politically nullified by his overthrow by Sargon of Akkad (Section 47). But commercially and culturally the Sumerian remained dominant in the valley extending inward from Amrit to Katna (see map). The Akkadian had to use him as accountant and business manager (see Section 68-b). The polychrome statues of Sumerians just discovered (ILN 5-19-1934), with long black hair in English cavalier style raise the suspicion that the Sumerians may be the mysterious Fnhw ship-builders of the northern coast in Egyptian records, (Sec. 49). For Sumerian culture persists in the Mediterranean, and 1300 years after Sargon's time a king of Cyprus writes to the Pharaoh that the (Sumerian) plague-god Nergal has been ravaging his land for three years (EAL no. 35). Then the recent discoveries at Ugarit (Section 120) prove the Sumerian culturally prominent and scholastically dominant on that coast at the time of the above letter from the king of Cyprus. Then the recent excavation of Katna by the Comte du Mesnil du Buisson has revealed the fact that at this same time the great Sumerian goddess NIN.E.GAL was the supreme divinity. She had supplanted the Anatolian mother-goddess nearly a thousand years before. Amen em-hat II, of Egypt, paid special court to that shrine (Section 90). Dussaud concludes that the NIN.E.GAL cult was planted there during the third UR dynasty, about 2200 B.C. (others, 2400). It is additional testimony that Sargon of Akkad, several hundred years earlier, had not crippled Sumerian cults and culture.

Now the EA Letters, in Akkadian commercial vernacular, call the region and the city "Amurru." And as "Amor" it appears in the Egyptian records. As "Amorites" the state was once the northern boundary of Israel (Section 176). But this does not identify or connect this state with any other "Amorites" of our AV.

Now as "Amurru" it does not appear in any classic literature. And its Sumerian official name, Hellenized into "Marathos," does not appear in the classic records before Alexander the Great. The Pauly-Wissowa and Dr. Smith cannot find any early mention of "Marathos," though it was confessedly very old, and very great. The reason is that officially the city was MAR.TU: (Martu). Its numerous late coins are stamped (in Phoenician characters), MRT: from the Persian period to Hadrian? In Greek, Marathos. And its harbor-stream is the Marathios, which the Arabs have adapted into Amrit. These are derived from Martu: not from Amurru. For the struggle of the Sumerian culture for its cults to the end, see the above authorities.

Third, they do not know the land as held by "Hamites."

Now with a concordance, note the 52 passages mentioning Amorites or "the Amorite": 46 more mentioning Sihon. (1) Note there is no genealogy or kinship of Amorites with other peoples. (2) Consider above Assyrian use of Amurru for any or all west lands. Is "Amorite" in the OT applied to all peoples of Palestine, or to one of many? Not the passages. (3) Are they widely distributed? in Gilead, Moab, Bashan, southwest hills, northwest also? (4) Have they one king, or many little chieftains? (5) Are they anywhere credited with iron, like the people in Judg. 1:19; 4:3, 13? (6) Have they anything but hill-strongholds? (In Gen. 14:13 read "oaks of Mamre, the Amorite" --not plains). (7) Was Abram's Machpelah then, (Gen. 23:17) originally an Amorite sacred cave? Any case of Amorite Kings having a cave-refuge? (8) What is the probability that the Amorites were the hill-cave aborigines we have considered? --(With Walker's Concordance, the systematic student should check the passages in two hours.)

### B. The Minoan-Philistine Southern Highway.

37. The foregoing sketch of some known aboriginal elements in the making of Palestine prepares for the consideration of important elements that came from the sea and unquestionably aided in differentiating the region later called Judah from the one called Israel. In the OT these influences are prominently expressed by the terms Philistine, Cherethite, Pelethite, Gergesite, Anakim, Canaanite ("coast-lander", "low-lander", all traders from the sea: see Zeph. 2:4.). In such study we confront at the outset the fact shown by the archaeology of Crete, Egypt, and Palestine, that there were exchanges of commercial wares, between Cretan-Aegean areas and the Egyptian and east Mediterranean coasts, as early as 4,000 B.C., probably as early as 5,000 B. C. Who were these Palestinian peoples, founders of a special culture in southern Palestine, thousands of years before Israel arrived?

### 38. Their Immemorial Trade-Route.

The tenacity which the Philistines of the OT clung to the southeastern curve of the Mediterranean north of Egypt finds partial explanation in recent discoveries in Crete that her trade reached as far as India. That means a route through the Red Sea independent of Egypt. Just south of Gaza, the student will observe a water-course now called Wady Ghuzzeah extending far inland, past Beersheba, south-eastward to the Wady Arabah. Following this southward one reaches Edom and the eastern fork of the Red Sea at the head of which stood Elath and Ezion-geber. Consider their importance: Deut. 2:8; 1 Kings 9:26; 2 Chron. 8:17; 2 Kings 14:22; 2 Chron. 26:2; 2 Kings 16:6; Num. 33:35,26; 1 Kings 9:26; 22:48; 2 Chron. 8:17.

### 39. Tell El-Ajjûl Estuary Filled Up.

About four miles south of modern Gaza, on a sea-side promontory on the north side of Wady Ghuzzeah is the Tell Ajjûl, "Ruin of Oxfigures" (or "Little Calf"). It proves to have been one of the greatest seaports of ancient times. Its estuary is now filled up.

Beersheba stands in a depression or basin. Alluvial deposit from the limestone hills northeast and south of the basin now covers its marl floor. That means the stream once extended from hills to hills--had cut down into the marl: broad and with strong current. Then came a depression of level, resulting in the broad valley being slowly filled by silt of a sluggish current. Later came an elevation of this interior compelling the quickened current to cut down through its alluvium into the marl again. The deposition of silt and cutting through it again have occurred within a relative modern human period, for artifacts are found all the way through the silt down to the marl. The ancient people of Umm Khatafa on the Wady Khreitûn, in Section 24, were familiar with hippopotami. Their region has been upheaved since then. The character of these changes is plainly shown at the outflow from the Beersheba basin. Around Tell Fara, eighteen miles below Beersheba, shafts in 1930 found silt nine feet deep



at one point, eleven at another, beyond fifteen at another, did not reach marl at others. (McDonald, Beth-Pelet II).

The patriarchal period shows diminished stream and the digging of storage-pools, and the making of dams (Gen. 21:25; 26:18-32). The rate of deposition of alluvium in the Nile valley and Euphrates valley has been proven to be six inches in a century. That would mean 4,000 years to deposit twenty feet. At that rate the Tell el-Ajjûl estuary began to be blocked up near 2,000 B.C. But a complete survey of silt deposits of the whole valley has not been made; the estimate given is merely a suggestion.

#### 40. Tell el-Ajjûl not Gaza, but Beth-Eglaim.

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie's discoveries have been astounding and revolutionary. He publishes his finds under the assumption that the present Gaza was founded after the silting up of the estuary ruined the old seaport, about 1700 B.C.

To this B. Maisler (ZDPV, 1933, 186-9) objects that Petrie's own discoveries prove that the great seaport was never abandoned through the Bronze Age, that Petrie shows a whole series of ceramics of Late Bronze II, especially Cypriote of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Perhaps first destruction was by the "sea-peoples" invasion recorded by Rameses III, about 1200 B.C. The site was not occupied in the Iron age.

Again, the present Gaza "coexisted" in the Bronze Age; Garstang found the ruins of its strong outer wall in 1920. Phythian-Adams in 1922 found sherds of early Iron and Late Bronze including Cypriote. Scarabs with the "forename" of Rameses II, and of Amenophis III (1411-1374 B.C.) have been found.

Conder in 1896 suggested Tell el-Ajjûl was the Beth-Eglaim of Eusebius, Onomasticon, 48:19 f, a little way-station south of Joppa, on the road to Egypt. Both names mean the same: "place of ox-figures," and the Beth-Eglaim may have been the translation of the old Minoan-Philistine name.

Now consider the En-Eglaim, "spring or pool of ox-figures," in Ezek. 47:10. The whole "dream" of a water-way with abundant fish and fruit-trees must be based upon a tradition of a time when such was the case, as shown in Section 39.

#### 41. Gezer as a "Sea-Peoples" Emporium.

Ere tracing sea-trade up the Wady Ghuzzeh, we should notice its concentration at the aboriginal site of Gezer, already noticed in Section 18. It is forty-three miles north-west of Gerar, seven miles east of Ekron, on the latter's high-road to Ajalon and Gibeon. Excavated over thirty-five years ago by Macalister, when he did not know of the existence of Minoan and Mycenaean elements in that region, he later made important corrections in his earlier terminology, recognizing that the shaft-graves he had found were practically identical with the later Mycenaean, and with the Carian at Assarlik.

In 1909 he thought these Aegaeon trade posts originated with the invasion of "Sea-peoples" in the time of Rameses III (1190-1167 B.C.) and had lasted till Solomon's time, 1 K. 9:16 (Luckenbill, Biblical World, Feb. 1910, p. 103 f.). Masterman reported Aegaeon or Cypriote occupation of the neighboring Bet-Shemesh (Ir-Shemesh of Josh. 19:41: Biblical World, Aug., 1913, 101-109). But Kurt Galling finds that the recent far earlier and datable Mycenaean finds at Byblos are the same as the Mycenaean at Gezer, pushing the Mycenaean colonies back some three centuries. (Historische Zeitschrift, vol. 133, 67 f.) Semitic-speaking peoples had come near 1500 years earlier. (The oldest recorded invasion from Arabia was in the reign of the Pharaoh Pepi I, 2580-2570 B.C. An early form of the Hebrew language appears in names in the Egyptian records about that time.) Macalister proved that the old agricultural cave-dwelling population with their pigs and flint sickles had become a rude-walled town-folk long before any such Semitic-speaking peoples settled among them. Their attraction of traders from Egypt and the sea had long been established. Immigrant Semitic-speaking traders and artisans accepted local cults (Olmstead, 61-65 f.; Cook 78 ff; Duncan 104). Gezer was still an emporium of "coast-traders" - Canaanites--in Solomon's time 1 Kings 39:16.





#### 42. Beth-Eglaim - Gaza.

Petrie began excavating at the great estuary-seaport Feb. 9, 1931. The silt-filled harbor had become a poisonous marsh. Work could be done only at certain limited periods. The site proved to be twelve times as large as the popularly accepted site of Troy (Hissarlik: certainly not the real Troy; see M. Charles Vellay, ART and Archaeology, Nov-Dec. 1933. The real Troy, six miles southeast, had an acropolis twelve times as large as Hissarlik, with a great city spread around it). It is twice as large as the Megiddo site, and is the largest Mediterranean seaport yet found. Petrie announces that the earliest culture was the aboriginal one we have considered, and independently designates it as "the fair Amorite"; the men small, 5 ft., 1 in. to 5 ft., 7 in; women 4 ft., 7 in. to 5 ft., 1 in. The sallow "Arab" type Petrie says began to appear only in the ports "latter days" which for Petrie means near 2,000 B.C. It is noteworthy that Macalister thirty-five years ago reached the same conclusion in the case of Gezer. Sea-peoples were the political masters; their weapons, Cypriote and Cretan. The largest commerce aside from grain was with Egypt; second, with Babylonia, reached by the Red Sea-South Arabia routes.

#### 43. The Hyksos Element at the Seaport.

Josephus, (Against Apion, I:14, 15, 26-29, 34, and II:2) has kept scholars debating for nearly 1900 years over the mysterious Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings" whom Apion and others identified with the Israelites escaping from Egypt. We know them to have been Iranian horsemen. It seems that such foreign troopers began to overrun Palestine and the Delta of Egypt near 2375 B. C.: Sir Gardner Wilkinson shows "Syrian" or "Asiatic" Pharaohs in Egyptian regalia about that time. Petrie found in his first season at Tell el-Ajjul scarabs of the known Hyksos King Apepa I, in the upper levels. This date being about 1700 B.C., Petrie hastily concluded that there were no later occupants, and announced his view that the Hyksos abandoned the seaport about that time and founded the present Gaza, about four miles north--a conclusion not sustained by his own later discoveries. These XVI-XVIIIth Egyptian Hyksos scarabs were found associated with those of the XII-XIIIth dynasties of south Egypt: suggesting that they were contemporary. The Hyksos masters had their horses buried with them, in circular pits, with side-loculi for the human bodies. But the old native population cut rock-chamber tombs with a door-slab at the bottom of a square pit (Egyptian Old Kingdom type, or like early "city-Amorites".) So this older small people made the great town, with its wells and siege-postern, to welcome Cretan-Aegean trade. And the Hyksos horsemen, later political overlords through some centuries, contributed little culturally, but adopted the insignia of Egypt officials. One may walk through the partially excavated town as through Pompeii, finding many chambers and walls, and some doors, practically perfect. (London Times, 5-1931: 6-20-1931. It will take 50 years to complete the excavation.)

#### 44. "Amorites" Persist While Masters Change.

In an Ethnological statement to MAN, Oct. 1931, Petrie presented the succession of racial elements then known. First, what he called "Amorite"; the old small city-founders whose pottery is an inferior neolithic, as at Tell Fara. Their tombs and beads, so far, are like those of the IV-VI dynasties of Egypt: indicating a period of Egyptian dominance. But the presence of large copper weapons and vessels points to Cyprus commerce. Since Cyprus had bronze by 3000 B.C., mere copper suggests an earlier trade. Houses of these early copper-buyers (3500 B.C.?) not yet found. But fifty of their graves have been opened in the plain below: very small, narrow shaft. Twenty or more had a ribbed and riveted copper dagger, (3300 B.C.?) and a flat-based drab pot with ledge handles, for drink offerings (ILN, 7-9, 1932, p. 57).

Next came an invasion from North Syria or Cilicia (From the region later called "Hittite" in the OT?). These swept through, appearing (as above) in Egypt as the VII-VIII dynasties; making a complete break in the type of pottery and tombs at the seaport. But they merely ruled; they did not exterminate the old aboriginal population.

Then came a people who buried their dead upon their backs, limbs irregularly outspread, as in death. Tombs had ramp-entries sloping down to one chamber, or two.



They built with large bricks; had baths, privies, and good pottery of imported forms. Palm-decoration showed nothing north of Cilicia. Middle Bronze was dominant (2400-1800 B.C.?) indicating Minoan-Cypriote trade. So-called "Semitic" peoples are probably one element in this new era.

Then the above mentioned Hyksos horsemen: very short men averaging sixty-one inches; sturdy big-headed "cob"-horses. (Horse not yet known in Arabia.) Tombs circular or oblong. Horses buried in center; men at full length in loculi around sides. There was a curious unexplained custom of removing one or more limbs of horses and men at burial.

This summary omits the known Minoan-Philistine dominance, - unless Petrie identifies it with the first foreign dominance. The others ruled as "Egyptian" Kings. There is a long succession of such. For the present point, no other site has shown such continuous occupation from aboriginal days to the Iron Age.--Petrie's article on "Peoples of Palestine", A & A, Mar.-Apr., 1933, adds nothing to previous statements.

#### 45. Palace-Succession at the Seaport.

Successive builders raised the surface of the Tell twenty feet above original surface. On the plain west of the Tell, an old cemetery whose beginning was estimated about 3500 B.C. was found. Of 50 square shaft-tombs with terminal chambers, half had copper daggers in perfect condition, which means a pre-Bronze date (AJA, 1932, 337; Ancient Egypt, 1932).

Continued explorations have proven five palace levels. The oldest and largest, over 130 feet wide, is at the west side of town, with a basement of dressed sandstone blocks; the whole, with its fosse, of a type familiar in North Syria, suggesting dominance by that region about 2600 B.C.? When burned, it lay desolate long enough to accumulate three feet of dirt and ashes. Next came a lighter palace of very hard yellowish clay brick--probably XIIIth Dynasty Egyptian. Taken down, the old yellow bricks, mixed with grey, built a third palace. Then there was a fourth palace, smaller, with floors five feet higher, and a horse-sacrifice in connection with it. This is the Hyksos palace. Then after their expulsion Thothmes III (1500 B.C.) built a small palace there, with a cemetery of that period. After that there was nothing till Arab times; over 2000 years total abandonment. But this ancient site shows over 4000 years of the mingling and trading of pre-Israelite Palestinians--Albright (BASOR, Dec. 1932) objects to the dates. He wishes to date the last three palaces in a very short Hyksos period. He dates the first about 2000 B.C. and ignores any culture earlier than Middle Bronze. Maisler (See Section 40) does not consider this justified.

#### 46. Excavations of 1933. (London Times, 6-2-1933, p. 10)

Petrie reported the third season, cleared the earliest palace site (166 feet long, east and west; 127 feet north and south). The plan is: buildings on three sides of a large rectangular court; a rough wall of unfinished blocks on the fourth. He thinks the builders of this pushed into Egypt and founded the Seventh Dynasty (2475 B.C., Breasted). Tell el-Ajjul was their "Bridge head," till the Delta was conquered. Artifacts and Bronzes show an invasion from the Caucasus area, west of the Caspian.

The palace was on a flat platform of rock, from the west slope of the hill to a steep terrace which fell away on the east. This was filled up, and drains run through the filling. On the south were massive buildings of the 8th and 12th Dynasties (in opposition to Albright's objections) with many dozens of pieces of fine painted pottery of unknown provenance. (N. Syria? Armenia? Cappadocia?)

Nearly 200 types of pottery in half a dozen other sites of the Tell, connecting five palace periods (3200? to 1400 B.C.). The great family tomb of an Egyptian governor was found with an official ring of massive gold with the cartouche of Tutankhamen and a scarab of Rameses II, showing the family's tenure of the tomb without a break. There were three successive layers of burial in it, with Aegaeon, and Cypriote pottery and local imitations, and an Egyptian bronze knife. Another tomb was of earlier date (Amenophis II and Amenophis III) with flying horses of eastern type. A golden ear-



ring of Irish torque pattern was in the 18th dynasty level, and a Luristan-type dagger in the 12th dynasty level, showing communication with Persia near 2000 B.C. The whole again shows the unwisdom of hasty generalization upon an early knowledge of so vast a site. It has many more surprises for us.

#### 47. Gaza in the Tell el-Amarna Letters.

The above finds suggest the fact. The name was familiar in those pre-Israelite days (1500 B.C. ff.) as Ghazat, or Khazati. Later Hebrews and Arabs have dropped a feminine ending, t. The Arabs also double the z (original fact?) and say "Ghuzzeh." The name of the seaport is not known. But as it is called Minoa in Greek times, it is probable that the name dates from Minoan times. And the fact that the city-site is Tell el-Ajjûl, or "Mound of Ox-figures" suggests that the now famous Minotaurs and bull-vaulting works of art were long recognizable there.

#### 48. Gerar.

With the Minoan-Cretan port of entry established, we travel up the Wady stream six or seven miles, to a great metallurgical center, the Gerar of Gen. 20. Here again the original towns-people were aboriginal "pre-metal" "Amorites," (3400-2600 B.C.) and grain-growers (Duncan 85, 137).

The large number of flint sickles shows a great grain-growing population. See Isaac's immense crop at Gerar, Gen. 26:12. (For fine loose soil from Gaza southward, see Strahorn, Geographical Review, 1929, 590.) The founders and metal-workers were the later Cretan-Aegean colonists. Early Egyptian overlordship, 4000-2400 B.C., was succeeded by the Hyksos domination (2400-1600 B.C.). Then Egypt was master again (1500-1200 B.C.). Then came Philistine lordship. But the metal-working Cretans were not assimilated in many respects. They regularly imported Cretan decorations for their personal use. The Egyptians clung to Egyptian. The native population accepted some of each culture. (Petrie, Gerar, 1928; and ILN, 7-12-1927; Duncan, 137-143).

#### 49. Sharuhén: Wady es-Sheri'ah.

Near Gerar notice, on map in Hastings' DB a tributary Wady from the east joins the Wady es-Seba, forming the Wady Ghuzzeh. The modern name is Wady es-Sheri'ah, or "Canyon of watering-places" (for herds: Albright). It is formed by several short Wadys which meet about twenty miles east of Gerar. At this junction is believed to be the site of Sharuhén of Josh. 19:16, which is Shaaraim in the parallel 1 Chron. 4:31; (Cf. Josh. 15:35; 1 Sam. 17:52; Shilhim Josh. 15:32). "Sharuhén" is a mispointing of Sirhân, "pasturage-place" (Arabic): while "Shaaraim" is "Double Gates"; possibly "The Gates", simply. The great Hyksos stronghold, Sharahana of the Egyptian texts, is believed to have stood here. Excavations have not been made. It was their last stand in South Palestine. Probably the ancient fortress was called both "Pasturage City" and "Gate City"--the lowland frontier post between Gerar and Hebron. It is desired to emphasize the commercial and strategic significance of the streams at whose mouth Beth-Eglaim stood. The political frontier character of the Sheri'ah Wady is illustrated by Put-i-Kheba (Arta-Kheba?), Egypt's Hurrian governor of Jerusalem, 1410?-1400? B.C. He speaks of "the lands of the Sheri' region" as the southern limit of the territory over which Pharaoh has placed him. (El-Amarna Letters, 288 :26)

#### 50. Tell Fara' - Beth-pelet: The Pelethites.

Thirteen miles up the main stream from Gerar is the great fortress--promontory Tell Fara': "Hill of refuge," or "of refugees." Since the Hebrew name Beth-pelet means the same thing, Petrie identifies the two: Duncan concurs. (Albright thinks it the Sharuhén of Josh. 19:6.) It has two outstanding features of interest.

First: it is an outstanding site of Palaeolithic culture with no pottery, grading into Neolithic with rude pottery of earth and chopped straw. The lowest levels examined in 1930 show the hearths of a people who built neither stone nor mud-houses, though they had the said pottery, and flints and limestone bowls like later house-builders. (Consider temporary lodges in Is. 1:8; "booths" for temporary residence



in Gen. 33:17; Lev. 23:42 f; Neh. 48:14 f; like our American "brush-arbor" for meetings. (MacDonald fails to consider these common make-shifts.) It should be plain that simple folk living on a mud-flat by a stream must move during the winter flood-season. MacDonald records very thin layers of silt and ashes alternating, and speculates upon a nomad people, not thinking of those who had both hillside and stream-side residences as in parts of the modern world.

MacDonald "unconsciously proves the suggested fact by recording the appearance of some settlers who made residences by cutting notches in the slope of the native marl-banks, just above the alluvial floodplain. Such roofed-over notches, familiar in all our western states as "dug-outs," are still common in many parts of the world--a fact not noticed by MacDonald. They do not prove any new ethnic element. Cave-dwelling and cave-enlarging peoples would do such things. MacDonald suggests 4000 B.C. for the early rude pottery stratum with no foreign admixture. But Egypt had a far-reaching trade in far higher cultural products before that date; such should appear at Tell Fara. No sheep and cattle are reported, which puts nomad peoples (in the ordinary sense) out of the question. And some good archaeologists now credit Egypt with pottery 6000 B.C. --or even 7,000.

Settlers at another point in the alluvium dug a hole about a foot deep as a dwelling-site. How they completed it the explorers do not know. But lattice-work decoration on some of the pottery suggests such lattice work for house-walls. Such pit-and-brush dwellings are well known in American Indian archaeology.

Copper fish-hooks found four feet from the bottom of the alluvium suggest that the stream bed had been filling up about 1000 years before such hooks were obtained. They mean permanent water, and small boats (?) (Beth-Pelet II)

#### 51. "Amorite" Permanence at Beth-Pelet; and "Caleb."

In Tell el-Ghassûl we saw that certain peculiar artifacts, such as hoes and fan-shaped scrapers, were identical with those at Beth-Pelet through a very long period, showing the same people and culture. But Beth-Pelet shows above a much earlier stage of the culture. But another mark of the persistence at Beth-Pelet is the great abundance of clay dog-figures. These are found through various levels, from the lowest hearths found to the topmost levels (Beth-Pelet II). Thus a peculiar cultus or cultus-institution persists through a very long period. We are reminded of the stuffed dogs still hung up as household guardians by some Siberian tribes, and the house-hold(?) dogs buried in their village cemeteries by the contemporary Badarian culture (Section 29, Egyptian outlines) and the dogs kept in Cypriote and Phœnician temples, and at least at Beth-Shean. This dog-figure period is about 5000 to 4000 B.C. (Albright, in private note); ending about 3000 years before Israel entered Palestine. As the figures promptly started a speculative connection with "Caleb" in the OT, the speculation is here stated, reminding the student that a "dog people" must have survived through 3000 years of political changes, and then have been absorbed by Judah, to validate the speculation.

A dog in Hebrew is "Caleb"; Arabic, Kelb; Akkadian, kalbu. The "Caleb" of Josh. 14:6 is a "son of Kenaz," who is reported as an ancient Edomite chieftain in Gen. 36: 11, 14, 40; Judges 1: 11-16. The Calebites were, in English, "The Dog People." Were the "Caleb" people who captured Hebron and the regions southward the aboriginal "Dog people" of Beth-Pelet, who had accepted the Hebrew language somewhere in the thousands of years before Joshua's time? (about 1200 B.C.) It is an interesting question; the student will watch for decisive proofs. But observe in 1 Chron. 4:13f. that Kenaz was an ancestor of a "valley of artisans" (gē-charashim), who claimed a Yahwist ancestor, Jo-ab. (As to the term "Edom" - "red-land," it is not ethnological, and may mean any race living in those red hills.)

Among the royal officials near 1700 B.C. was a "keeper of the king's seal" who bore the good Hebrew name of "Hur." (Albright, JPOS, 1931, no. 2, p. 30, note; and BASOR no. 39, p. 6) He was already known from scarabs and records in Egypt, and aids in synchronizing the Beth-Pelet discoveries. But this Hebrew in Hyksos employ many centuries before Joshua's Israel makes us again wonder if the aboriginal "Dog-People" of this site now spoke Hebrew. Was this Hur the "son of Caleb" in 1 Chron. 2: 18-20?





## 52. Beth-Pelet The Lost Hyksos Capital.

The second great surprise at Beth-Pelet was the discovery that it was a hitherto unknown Hyksos capital. The fragmentary records left by Manetho name only ten Hyksos kings; this has resulted in some modern historians squeezing the whole Hyksos period into about 150 years. But Egyptologists have long known about 100 scarabs with the names of twenty-eight different Hyksos kings: more names, says Petrie, than there are of dynasties XI-XII, XXI-XXV, XXVI-XXX (Knight, p. 104, note). Now the graves of twenty-five kings not mentioned by Manetho have been found at Beth-Pelet. Some are not included in the said twenty-eight names on scarabs. We have, in short, to find time for over forty Hyksos kings; and we must ask if Manetho's assertion that the Hyksos regime lasted 518 years may be about right (Against Apion, 1:26; perverted by Josephus in 1:31). It is plain that Manetho's Hyksos included peoples not so styled by some present-day scholars. Petrie takes that position. The student will watch for more light on the fervently debated chronology. Egyptian sources of information are to be respected, for, apart from the Hyksos kings, Beth-Pelet has given us the names of fifteen (or more?) Pharaohs of the two next dynasties, showing 400 years of uninterrupted Pharaoh rule. There was originally an immense body of official information on the whole Hyksos period.

It must be said here that Egypt did not eradicate the ancient local culture and art. Much of the local scarab work is done by the native artists who imitate in a blundering way the Egyptian models furnished them. There is some Mycenaean decoration of pottery, and some Syrian elements, and the native artists can imitate both. Yet they go their own aboriginal way when free to express themselves. (Beth-Pelet II)

## 53. Key To Minoan Grain Basket.

This fortress did more than safe-guard caravan routes. Crete today still imports from Egypt some food supplies that she imported 3000-4000 years ago (Egyptian records). At this point the old water-course still has open water - the last now open between Palestine and Egypt. We have seen that light draft-boats of the Egyptian type could once have reached Beth-Pelet. The lowland for nearly sixty miles southward was once a vast grain field. (See Jarvis, Yesterday and To-Day in Sinai, 2, 9, 166; map). Jarvis, despite the encroachment of modern wind-blown sand, observes the traces of ancient intense cultivation for some sixty miles in breadth, reaching far across the Wady Arish: substantiating the marvelous productiveness in Gen. 13:10.

## 54. Beersheba Basin Unexplored.

In Section 39, this broad basin, eighteen miles west of Beth-Pelet, was seen to have special interest for the hydrographer. No excavating has been done. Its prominence in the OT promises exceptional evidence of ancient cultures and immigrants later on. In Section 24 the outstanding character of the Mesolithic culture of the Wady Khreitun was summarized. And Tell Beit-Mirsim, 1600 feet above the sea, southwest of Hebron proves to have been a strategic Hyksos and Philistine-Cretan stronghold. Eleven successive cities have been burned on this site (Albright, JPOS, 1931, no. 2). As five of these precede the two cities of Hyksos occupation, and the bottom is not yet reached, the earliest settlement was probably in Mesolithic times; before 4000 B.C. (See Duncan p. 134). The Cretan or Philistine trade probably sought the Amorites of the Wady that reached Beersheba from the northeast. Thus a glance at the map shows that the great Wady es-Sheba, emptying into the sea near Gaza, was a culture-mingling highway through thousands of years: comparable in early importance to the Orontes valley between the Lebanons.

## 55. Southern Extension of Cretan-Minoan Control. (Partially suggested in Section 53)

What was its relation to Egypt? The "Egypt" of our AV is not the region so marked on our modern maps. The Hebrew term Mitsraim ("two Mutsris") included for centuries the Delta of the Nile and the Sinaitic Peninsula, and Midian, which was east of the Gulf of Akaba, in what we call Arabia. (G. A. Smith, Jerusalem, II, 157, and CAH, vol. II, bottoms of pp. 364, 365, 366. Consider Ezek. 20:36.) In southern Palestine its frontiers were long defined by the "river of Egypt" of our AV; 2 Chron. 7:8; 1K. 8:65; Gen. 15:18; Ex. 23:31; Num. 34:5; Shi-Hor of Josh. 13:3, 1 Chron. 13:5;



Jer. 2:18; Is. 23:3; "border of Egypt," 1 K. 4:21; 2 Chr. 9:26. The Assyrian King Esarhaddon uses this boundary-term several times. (See Luckenbill, ARA) This valley is the modern Wady El-Arish, the principal drain of the Sinaitic Peninsula, heading in southern Sinai, and running north and then north-west 150 miles into the Mediterranean, about fifty miles southwest of Gaza, 90 miles east of the Suez Canal. Egyptian forts held this northern and eastern line. Amem-em-hat I, founder of the XIIIth dynasty built or extended a wall on the east to exclude rovers from Arabia. (Knight, p. 77; Barton, p. 480; Peet, p. 371)

#### 56. The Fort of the Midbar Shur.

In Exodus 15:22 Israel is leaving the Midbar-Shur. Midbar (dabar, to allot, decree) is primarily unappropriated land, allotable or assignable by authority. (Cf. Jarvis, 60-65). To translate "wilderness" or "desert" is obscuring. The fortress at the sea-terminus of the Wady el-Arish is not mentioned in any extant Egyptian documents till 500 years after Amem-em-hat I, but then well known, before the Israelite Exodus, as Dharu, or Tharu, the Shur of the OT in 1 Sam. 15:7; 27:8; Gen. 25:18, 3; Ex. 15:22; 16:7; 20:1; (Assur in Num. 24:22; Ps. 83:8; Ezek. 31:3; AV, wrongly, "Assyrian"). It was the great port near the sea. The Rhinocorura or Rhinocolura of the Greeks: "Chop-nose" town. Tharu is "Zoar" in AV of Gen. 13:10; the compiler then knew it as a marvelous "Yahu-garden" land; no wilderness or desert in the compiler's days. Such it must have been to support an important border-seaport. Tharu first appears in records in the twenty-second year of Thothmes III; next in those of Harm-hab. Then Seti I, Merneptah, Rameses I, Psamtik I; over 900 years as frontier post. Harm-hab made it a penal colony, cutting off the noses of oppressive officials and thieves, and sending them thither. (ARE, II, 415; III, 51, 54, 55, 56, 59, 88, 100; 542, 307, 631; IV: 956.)

#### 57. Tharu- "Zoar" Long Outlived the Tell-el-Ajjûl Seaport.

Tharu was formerly the terminus of the caravan route from Jerusalem via Hebron and Beersheba; or of that from eastern Edom through Beersheba. In Greek times Red Sea and Indian Ocean traffic landed at Leukê Komê on east coast of the Red Sea. Then it went north by caravan to Petra in Edom, and on north, down the Arabah, till within fifteen miles of the Dead Sea. Thence it went northwest by wady to Beersheba, and west to Rhinocolura; at that time the great coast-emporium for exchanges between Egypt and Palestine and the two seas. The Medeba Mosaic, near 600 A.D., shows towns between Beersheba and Gaza, which was then once more the coast-terminus. Note Beersheba as a south limit of Israel-power, in the expression "from Dan to Beersheba," Judg. 2:1; 1 Sam. 3:20; 2 Sam. 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kings 4:25, in Samuel-Saul-David times. South of that was Cretan-Edomite land.

#### 58. Survey of Race-Sequence, commingling, and Trade-route, complete.

We may now consider the great body of OT testimony upon Minoan-Philistine-Cretan activity in the territory later called "Judah" and Judea." The student will be helped by knowing that the Philistines do not appear in any records till the time of Rameses III, when they are one of the migrating "Sea-Peoples," coming down the Palestinian Coast about 1198 B.C. As they were a last wave of the failing Cretan-Minoan power, and settled on the north frontier of the old Minoan culture area, later OT writers sometimes confuse them with the earlier Cretans; and in the patriarch stories we find "Philistines" where the much earlier Cretan colonies are meant. This is made certain by the above mentioned Rameses III. His great battle-reliefs at Medinet Haboo picturing his defeat of the Philistines show us warriors like them in every detail among his own mercenary troops. There were then already in Egypt and Palestine Minoans exactly like the immigrant Philistines. And at Beth-Pelet or Tell Fara Petrie found "Philistine" pottery in the stratum of Rameses II; about 1240 B.C. The ancestors of David's "Pelethites" were already there.



C. Old Testament Data Upon Minoan-Philistine-Aegean  
Culture: Judah and Edom

59. Read now Hastings' Dictionary: Articles on Philistines, Caphtor, Cherethites, Anakim. These articles are over thirty-five years old; there are none better yet. Observe how scanty and unsatisfactory they are, in the light of facts above given. Then read Macalister's "Philistines," first 28 pages; written fifteen years later, but now twenty-five years old; and on Caphtor see G.A. Wainright, Quarterly Statement, Oct. 1931; pp. 203-216. All later. (Today we can add to the above information, in the proper place, the vast body of material in Evans' Palace of Minos (3 vols. quarto) Glotz's Aegean Civilization, and recent excavations in Palestine.)

60. In the two preceding sections the student faced the critical question: Are imaginative reconstructions of the history of religion to be seriously regarded? Shall we accept the immense body of new facts, sketched in those two sections, which contradict some fundamental assumptions of Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites? Or shall we stand by Robertson Smith, who did not know all those facts, and refuse all the facts?

But now the student faces a special application of the imaginative method. Wellhausen, starting with some imaginative guesses at the antiquity and order of development of some Hebrew religious institutions, led in a critical dissection of OT narratives, cutting them into sources of various dates, to fit his presuppositions.

Now for our historical inquiry, should any attention be paid to speculative documentary analyses, like the JEDP analysis of forty-five years ago? It is notable that Robertson Smith, acknowledging on p. ix his continual indebtedness to his friend Wellhausen, knew that he could make no use of the JEDP analysis in his lectures. The question of proper historical method must be squarely faced by students. Can you take such documentary analyses and "discover" any new archaeological facts with them? Or do you discover archaeological facts by excavations? Will you twist your report of what you dig up, to make it fit the claim of some document-analyzer? If an old Bible Dictionary article says a certain fact could not have been true before 800 B.C., and an old tablet, dug up since, says that was a fact 2,800 B.C. which will you believe? Literary analyses are possible and desirable when you are writing a history of literature. But can you write a history of any literature before you have any history of the people? Can you, for illustration, make any accurate analysis of the Book of Joshua, before you know when each group of towns existed in the stated tribal-relations? (Of Garstang, Preface; Notes and Queries, July, 1930, Review of Lost Tribes A Myth.) To sum up - should JEDP speculations be considered, in our historical inquiries? Have they ever taught us any history?

61. Philistine Origins, in the OT.

We first find the Philistines in Gen. 10:14, 1 Chron. 1:12 as derived from Casluhim, (Arabic, Kasr-Uāhim, "Oasis-garrisons," along with Caphtōrim. This makes both the Philistines and the Caphtor-folk to be in control of great oases, west of the Nile, but "sons" or subjects of Mitsraim, or "Egypt." But to-day peoples calling themselves Pelastim are scattered through western north Africa and Sahara. (See Godbey, "The Lost Tribes", Chap. X.) Consider Deut. 2:23; Amos 1: 6-8; 3:9; 6:2; 9:7; Jer. 47:4. Then Israel and Judah depend upon Philistines to reach western lands in Is. 11:14. Compare Jonah embarking for the west at the Philistine port of Joppa, Jonah 1:3. Are the Philistines connected with Caphtor at every period of OT history?

It should be said that the word uāh (wāh on modern large-scale maps) is not Arabic but Egyptian. It cannot be found in any classical Arabic dictionary. From the form uāh the Greeks turned it into "oasis." They probably first met it in the colonization of Cyrene, 631 B.C. Herodotus knew it in that region, 440 B.C. Serious mistakes have been made by those with a theory that it was Arabic! (See H. R. Hall, p. 5.)

62. Who were the Anakim, "Anak-folk," in the Old Testament?

The Anakim are in Num. 13:22, 28-33; Deut. 1:28; 2:10f, 21; 9:2; Josh. 11:21;



13:2-3; 14:12, 15; 15:13f; 21:11; Judg. 1:20. Observe remaining Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, Ashdod, in Joshua 14:15; 21:11. In Joshua 15:13, the LXX has not the "four" (Arba<sup>c</sup>) confederates, but "Arbok was metropolis (Mother-city) of Anak," instead of "father"; thus agreeing with Josh. 14:15. How early were these Anak-folk in south-west Palestine? Consider the statement in Num. 13:22, that Hebron (or "Arbok the metropolis of Anak") was founded seven years before Zoan (Tanis) in Egypt = before 2700 B.C. Can they, like the Philistines, be connected with Caphtor, Egyptian Keftu? Cf. Wainright, PEF Quarterly, Oct. 1931, 206-231. Are they mythical, or historic people?

#### 63. How Many Anak Strongholds?

In above passages only the three southern Philistine cities are mentioned; Askalon and Ekron (Amm-Karūna, cuneiform) are not. Was this because the Anak-folk were only in the extreme south? For we have to deal with the fact that there were more than five Philistine strongholds. The present Old Testament text is from a time when some in the south had become part of the Kingdom of Judah. (Consider Gerar, Philistine in Gen. 26:1, but not one of "the five lords of the Philistines" in 1 Sam. 6:4; Josh. 13:3; with Avvim; Josh. 15:51; Ziklag of 1 Sam. 27:6; and Beth-Pelet of Josh. 15:27; Neh. 11:26.)

But we must consider the discoveries made by Garstang and Pythian-Adams in excavation at Askalon, 1920-1923. A Philistine stratum was found, and a pre-Philistine, which would represent the Caphtōrīm of Deut. 2:23. Beneath was a Bronze Age stratum of some peculiar, distinct culture. These people made their ceramics of local clays till about 1500 B.C. when a great influx of foreign wares began; Cypriote and Mycenaean, with local imitations of 18th Dynasty Egyptian wares, known now to begin in time of Thothmes III. Peter Thomsen, with Hebrew Avvim in mind, suspects that Avvim of Deut. 2:23 means "coast-people" only. There was such a pre-Caphtor Bronze culture at some points. (Real-Lexicon I: 237; 1924).

#### 64. Other Anakīm and Caphtōrīm.

But recently published Egyptian cursing-texts, from the close of the eleventh Dynasty (about 2,000 B.C.) show that the powerful Mentuhotept III had feeble successors, who only hurled volleys of royal curses at their revolting subjects in Asia. Zebulun is one of the "accursed places," about 800 years before Joshua's "Israel" conquered Zebulun! Three Anak-princes or city-states are named; Elam, Akram, Abima-Ammu. (See Albright, JPOS, 1928, 222 ff. Compare Josh. 15:13; 800 years later.) Names not Semitic. How long before "Abram"? In Deut. 2:9-11, 19-25? note the tradition that Anakīm and Avvim once had trade-stations in region later seized by Moab and Ammon; the Avvim had penetrated that region from villages about Gaza; and that some Caphtor people had seized that trade-frontier. Some Avvim persist in western Benjamin in Josh. 18:23. We cannot yet define these Western Sea-peoples more exactly; but we cannot challenge the tradition.

#### 65. Anak with Caphtōr in the Cuneiform.

Egyptian inscriptions show the Keftu<sup>u</sup> (dropping final r of Keftōr) as a great mercantile sea-people from the earliest times. The form Kaptar occurs at Kôm Ombos in inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period. (Hall, PSBA, 1909, 284, Cf. Wainright, loc. cit.) Tyre and Sidon rise only after Keftu<sup>u</sup> power declines. (For dates, consult the geographical index of Breasted's ARE.) Anak is not connected with Keftu<sup>u</sup> in Egyptian inscriptions thus far reported. But in the great statement of the geographical extent of the empire of Sargon of Akkad (northern Babylonia), 2750 B.C., Anak and Caphtōr are Aegean regions. He ruled from "A-na-ku and Kaftara which are beyond the Upper Sea" (The Mediterranean) to "Dilmun and Magan beyond the Lower Sea" (Bahrein and Oman, Persian Gulf). Here are Anak and Kaftara people in the Mediterranean, known in Babylonia, 1500 years before Joshua's time. (Albright, JAOS, 1925, 196-236) Who were these Anak-folk, about the time Anakīm founded Hebron?

#### 66. Anak a Mycenaean Title?

In Homer, Agamemnon, the King of Mycenae, is regularly anax andrōn. His brother





Menelaos is not. Hence some Greek scholars have thought that an old pre-Hellenic, Mycenaean official title has survived in Greek. (See Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, words Anakoi, Anakeia, Anakeion, anax, anaktôr, Anaktôria, anaktôron, anassa, verb anassô.) Anakim may be Aegean colonies headed by an Anak. This view finds the Anak-folk in what we now call Greece, ages before the Greeks arrived there.

#### 67. Anak and Inachos.

The early Christian Fathers seem to identify Anak with Inachos, of Greek legends. There was good reason for this. Their LXX version of the OT made in Egypt, spells the name Enak. That clearly rests upon the Egyptian vocalization I'nak which occurs 2,000 years earlier in the cursing-texts referred to in Section 64. In Greek legends, Inachos was a "son of the sea" (Okeanos) and ancestor of the Pelasgians of Argos. But in genealogies he is also inextricably tangled with Mycenaean and Minoan, which comes to the same result as the above section; save that the Mycenaean use must have been taken over from a Pelasgian hero or title. (See Gayley, Classic Myths; Roscher, Lexicon, sv.) Inachos is even ancestor of the Minoan culture, and his grandson Epaphus (The Hyksos Apepa) is a King of Egypt. But all agree in localizing him at the river Inachos in Southern Argos, with Mycenae, Tiryns, and Argos within two to five miles of it. Various cultures in the eastern Mediterranean are traced to the shadowy Inach people of the Argolid. The Christian fathers Julius Africanus, Tatian, and Clement of Alexandria say that Moses led Israel from Egypt "in the days of Inachos." They must have had "Anak" in view. Since Julius Africanus (ANF, vi, p. 134a) quotes Apion in his book Against the Jews, and in the fourth book of his History, for Moses' revolt "in the time of Inachos, King of Argos, when Amosis reigned over Egypt," it appears that the attack of Josephus upon Apion, and the passage of 200 years, had not weakened the respect of the Christian Fathers for Apion. (Josephus ignores this synchronism with Inachos.)

Since Perseus is one descendant of Inachos, and Perse-us is brought to Palestine, in the legends of Andromeda, to the Philistine Joppa, the Egyptian P-e-r-s-t ('Philistine') has been suggested to be the Perseus-people.

It is possible that an old hero-name became an official title. Compare Caesar, Kaiser, Czar.

#### 68. Akkadian Anaku = "tin, lead."

So Albright, on the Sargon-passage in Section 65, suggests that the Anakim were pre-eminently workers of tin and lead. Even if they were, how should an Akkadian name for either metal be spread all over the western world as the only name for either? Did all western peoples get the metals and the name from the Sargon of Akkad, the first Semitic-speaking monarch of whom we have record? All Orientalists know that is not true. Greece was the main ancient source of supply, Asia Minor second, says Albright. That disposes of the possibility of an Akkadian name in either place. The Inachos-Anak territory may have been a "tinland", just as Cyprus (Greek Kupros) is "copper-land." But that does not prove that ancient Argos spoke Akkadian! But in this connection be it noted that Minoan-Aegean-Cyprus peoples did bring metal-working into Palestine: See discoveries already noted at Gerar, Tell el-Ajjûl, Beth-Pelet; and the persistence of Arab tradition in Sinai that all that ancient culture-area was peopled by colonies from Copros (Cyprus; Jarvis p. 112)

#### 69. OT Extension of Minoan-Philistine Domain.

In Sections 55-57, it was made clear that the pre-Israelite Minoan colonial sphere of influence, from Ekron southward to Koseima, was at least three times as large as had been supposed. The old southern colonies followed David, helped make him king at Hebron, which was still an Anak stronghold 300 years after the Hyksos were driven from Egypt (Josh. 15:14; Judg. 1:10; Num. 13:12). All the settlements near Ziklag, Beth-Pelet, Gerar, etc. are later reported as belonging to Judah (See Josh. 15:2-27; 19:1-9; 1 Kings 15:27; 16:15). The same region is "Philistine," and "Simeon" and "Judah." (Was Simeon a Philistine clan?) Sharuhin in Simeon (Josh. 19:6) was the Hyksos stronghold from which they ruled for a time when driven from Avaris (Tanis, Zoan) in Egypt. (See Budge, 241-254.) How long they held it we do not yet know. Note cities in Joshua 15:1-47; When did this Philistine region become "Judah"? See 1 Kings 15:27; 16:15.



See trade-routes in North Edom, Deut. 2:9-11, 19, 23; fear of Philistines, Exodus 13:17; cf. 15:14; 23:31, "Sea of Philistines." But were these Cretans really "Philistine"?

#### 70. Hyksos In This Area In OT.

Besides above strongholds notice Beth-Lebaoth "House of lionesses" near Sharuhén and Hazar-Susah, "mare-yard" and Beth-markaboth, "House of chariots" in Josh. 19:5 were garrison points far south of Beth-Pelet, on the Egyptian frontier. Whose are these horse-pastures and chariot-stables? It is familiar to Egyptologists that horses (from Central Asia) were unknown in Egypt and Arabia before the irruption of the Hyksos hordes. Also Solomon put his horse-stables at Megiddo. (Locate it.) Would any Israelite king put his horse-equipment three or four days' journey south of his capital, when enemies to the east and north were his continual peril? Or would the Philistines of Saul's time (1 Sam. 13:5) have kept their like equipment so far away? Would any but the Hyksos rulers of South Palestine and Egypt have found that region a proper center for their "cavalry" and horse-breeding? The "Simeon" town of Ziklag, where David was a "Philistine" lieutenant (1 Sam. 27:5f.) was about five miles northwest of Gerar.

In contrast with this southern division of the Minoan colonists who founded David's kingdom, "the five lords of the Philistines" in 1 Sam. 6:16-18 represent a northern secession(?) and the historic opponents of the kingdom. Observe on the map that Mak-kedah, Gaderoth, Beth-Dagon and Naameh in above list of Judah towns are but suburbs of Ekron. Consider the map (Hastings' DB) and recognize the towns from Ekron southward that could not have belonged to Judah so long as the northern "five Lords" were strong. Is the list a post-exilic census list?

#### 71. Minoans Link Palestine to Other Lands.

Egyptian tomb-paintings of the time of Thotmes III, (about 1470 B.C.) show Minoan envoys or carriers grouped with those of Kadesh on the Orontes, Gebal or Byblos, the Hittite area, Cyprus and Cilician coasts. It emphasizes the fact that the Minoans were controlling the coastal trade, reading Egypt by trading all along South Asia Minor and down the Palestine Coast. (Evans, II:651, 655 f.). Libation rhytons found on the coast of Pontus shows that Minoan and Mycenaean mariners were at the same period trading along the Black Sea Coasts (Evans II: 658). The short road from Crete to Egypt would have been from Komc, on South coast of Crete, 180 miles to Derna in Cyrene (Evans I, map; II, 79:89). But this meant no profitable coastal trade. Finds at Knossos also show Crete trading with lower Babylonia and the Persian Gulf as early as 2200 B.C. (Evans II, 654) thus supplementing Sargon of Akkad's claim that his trade reached "Anaku and Kaf-tara, which are beyond the Upper Sea." Evans (II:530) says the Crete-Persian-Gulf trade dates almost from Neolithic times.

#### 72. Cretan and Carian in the OT.

Now notice the OT passage relative to the activity of these "Cherethites" (Kerethi) or Cretans. They are identified with Karfi, "Carians" in 1 Sam. 30:14; 2 Sam. 8:18 has Kerethi while Karfi is in the parallel 20:23. Did David have both? Then there was a Beth-Car (House of the Carian?), in 1 Sam. 7:11 in the extreme northeast of the Philistine area. Were these Carians of the extreme southwest of Asia Minor identical with Cretans? or merely political-commercial proteges? Minoan discoveries show that they had not the same script. Then the temple guards 200 years later, in 2 K. 11:4, 19 were also "Carians" (AV wrongly, "captains"). Did they carry the cult of Yahu to the land of the later Seven Churches of Asia? (See Godbey, Asia Minor map). Compare again the foreign temple guards in Zeph. 1:8; 9, 11. Carians controlled the sea when Samaria fell 721 B.C. (Eusebius). In Zephaniah's time Carian mercenaries, in Egyptian employ, were leaving inscriptions from Tahpanhes of Jer. 43:1; 44:1 all the way up the Nile to the Jewish garrison and temple at Elephantine (Sayce, PSBA, 1905; 123 ff; 1906, 171 ff; 1908, 28; 1910, 261; TSBA Vol. IX (total, 60) and Rowe, JRAS, 1920, 84 ff.) Diodorus says Carian fleets dominated the Aegean when Jeremiah was in Egypt.

#### 73. Foreign Levites Control.

Then with these Karfi guards of 2 K. 11:4, 19, and Zephaniah, compare the "foreign



Levites" of Ezek. 44: 6 ff. and the Jewish raḥtebahim (Babylonian title): "captain of guards" (slayers, butchers) or "chief of sacrificers" (Smith, OTJC, II:262): Zech. 14:21, "Canaanite": same coast-peoples? Then we have Kerethi or "Cretans" in 2 Sam. 23: 23; 20:7; 1 Chron. 18:17; 2 Sam. 15:18-22 and 18:1-5; Zeph. 2:5; Ezek. 25:16. Observe that in Zeph. 2:5, and Ezek. 25:15, the LXX translates Philistines as "Cretans." See brook of Kerith east of Ahab's capital, near Jordan; (Al-pnē - "this side") near Beth-shean, Philistine stronghold once. 1 K. 17:3, 5.

#### 74. First Egyptian Notice of Philistines.

Now while we have had Keftiyā and Anak in Egyptian records for many centuries, and have seen powerful Cretan colonies planted for centuries South of the Philistine country, we have as yet no appearance of "Philistines" in Egyptian records. Turn now to Breasted's ARE IV: 30:48. The Pulusati are part of a migration coming down the coast, in the time of Rameses III, 1190-1185 B.C. Hittites, Eastern Cilician (Kode) Carchemish, Arvad (Awad) Alwes (Alashiya, Elishah) and Cyprus are plundered. Zakkara mentioned (Tukeri, Teukri? See Macalister, pp. 22-28.) shown by later inscriptions to hold all the coast from Joppa to Mt. Carmel. Mariners in 1100 B.C. (See Macalister, pp. 30, 35, 36, 33, 38, 68 ff.)

#### 75. Old Philistines versus New-Comers.

With the stopping of these migrating Philistines at the Old Gaza frontier, all far north of the Gerar-Beth-Pelet strongholds, whose culture had dominated for centuries for fifty miles south of Gaza, controlling trade-roads south to the eastern branch of the Red Sea, we have a political-social question. Would these warrior-new-comers have the same cordiality and intimacy with old Palestinian peoples that the old Cretan commercial colonists had? Would the latter be much assimilated or adapted by centuries of local contacts? Would they be less likely to war with Israel?

#### 76-a. The Philistine tseran, Seran: (Greek "Tyrant").

Notice "five lords of the Philistines" of these newcomers; each the head of a city-state. How often in the OT? Of what towns? (Concordance). Compare Macalister, 71 ff, 87 ff. Whence this official title (Seranim, Sarnē, in Hebrew OT? It has been compared to the Greek Turannos, which we have changed into "tyrant". Notice the following important neglected evidence.

In Graeco-Roman times in Palestine, Josephus uses it regularly for the official head of cities of the Old Philistine Coast. Zoilus is "tyrant" of Migdol-Ashtart (Strato's Tower) and Dor. He aspires to be "tyrant" of Ptolemais (Accho) and Gaza; gains the latter appointment (Ptolemais rejects: 13-12-3). All this because Pompey had left Marissa, Ashdod, Jamnia, Arethusa, Gaza, Joppa, Dor, Migdol-Ashtart, "in a state of freedom to their own inhabitants"--choosing their own heads. (Ant. 13-12-2, 4; 14-4-4-- Wars, 1-7-7). Zeno, or Cotylais, was "tyrant" of Philadelphia (13-8-1); Silas, a Jew, "tyrant" of Lysias near Tripoli (14-3-2). The Roman Cassius Longinus, "president of Syria," thought this government most efficient and "appointed tyrants over all Syria," (Wars 1-12-2); disliked by Tyre and Sidon, "free cities from ancient times," etc. So James Moffatt regularly uses the term "tyrant" for the Philistine lords in his new translation of the OT.

#### 76-b. Is Seran, Sarnē, of Egyptian Origin?

The Jewish scholar Israel Eitan observes the Egyptian official title "sr-nt" - "city governor," "city prince." He sees the Philistine leaders under the decadent Ramesseid Pharaohs arrogating this Egyptian official title. The dropping of the feminine t, as in Coptic and Hebrew, would turn sar-net into Sarnē, translated "lords" in AV of 1 Sam. 5:8, 11; 6:4, 12-18; 29: 2,7. Compare "No-Amon" for Nēt-Amon, in Jer. 46-25; Nahum 3:8. So Eitan concludes (against the theory of adoption of the Bab-Assyr. Sharru) that Sar - often an official term in the OT, (as in Gen. 37:36; 47:6; Ex. 2:14; 1:11) is an Egyptian official title adopted in Hebrew. It occurs more than a hundred times in the OT; in all social and official and liturgical relations. In 1 Sam. 29:3, 4, 9 it is specifically used of Philistine officers. It is outstanding evidence of Egypt's influence upon all Hebrew-official organization. (*Revue Etudes Juives*, 1926, 223 ff.)



## 77. Expulsion of Hyksos from Philistia.

In Section 74 we saw that the Pulusati do not appear in Egyptian records till about 1190; some 50 years after the immigration of Joshua's Israel? But the above towns called "five lords of the Philistines" were already very old. Partial excavations show that Askelon (and Ashdod?) were burned 1550 B.C. when the Hyksos were being driven out. The names at that time we do not yet know. Promptly rebuilt, the present names appear. In the El-Amarna Letters, 200 years or more before Joshua's Israel, over 200 years before the Philistine invasion, Gezer, Askalon and Gath, and Lachish and Gaza and Joppa seem confederate enemies of Egypt, though under the Egyptian deputies Yankhamu and Rianappa.

## 78. Persian Names in Palestine, After Hyksos Expulsion.

The famous El-Amarna Letters, Egyptian official correspondence with Palestinian governors beginning about a century after the expulsion of the Iranian Hyksos from Egypt, show a large proportion of Persian names among Palestinian officials. They are regarded as remnants of the powerful Hyksos regime, which Egypt has not thought it advisable to displace. There is no post-Hyksos invasion of Palestine to account for them and their hold upon official positions. The persistence of Persian personal names and god-names shows that in more than 300 years many Iranian families had refused to be assimilated by local culture and cultus.

Among such Iranian names are Shuwar-data (Sun-given) of Keilah; Piridashwa (aspa) "Horse-owner" of Umki; Yami-uta, "Yami-blessed"; Intar-uta "Indra-worshipper" Yash-data (Yasda-date), "God-given"; Artakheba, "Servant of Kheba"; Artatama, Arteshupa (Artat-Teshupa), Arta-shumara, Arzawia (Arta-Zawia?); Shutarna; Shutatarna, Shutatna (Zatatma); Daasharti (Dash-arti), Arta-Manya, Ruts-Mania, Was-Mania, Dasha (Tashshu), Manya, Shuta, Zirdam-yashda, Mania-waza, Piria-waza, Biria-maza, Namia-waza, Mayar-Zana (Ma-Varzanu), Baduzana, Sharatum (Zurata), Etakkama, Abiratta, Shubanda. Compare Egyptian Outlines, Section 172.

Very few of the El-Amarna Letters come from familiar Philistine territory; and very little excavating (relatively) has been done in the region. So we can not tell yet how large a survival of Iranian names, etc. there was in this southwestern region. But the subsequent arrival of the Pulusati of Egyptian records (about 1190 B.C.) found the old Minoan-Cretan colonies apparently unshaken in their coherence. A very few of the above names are from their area. Keilah and Lachish are in above Hyksos area, but are never Philistine in the OT (See Josh. 10:3, 5, 31-34; 2 Chron. 11:9), though Philistines try to take Keilah (1 Sam. 23: 1-4). But strata of ashes show that the invading Pulusati of 1185-90 B.C. sacked and burned Askelon, (and Gaza?) rebuilding on a large scale.

## 79. Skeptical Documentary Analyses.

In the light of the above archaeological discoveries, read Hastings' DB, I, p.92; paragraph about Abimelech of Gerar. Is the skeptical criticism justified? Compare Gen. 20, and 21; 22 ff. with above facts. Then compare Gen. 26:14 ff. with same. Abimelech, "my father the king" is Semitic. Notice "Abimelech" in title of Ps. 34 for "Achish" of 1 Sam. 21:10 ff; 27 ("Anchises" of the Aeneid). Is not "Abimelech" then a Semitic official title adopted in these Southern or Minoan colonies? Or a Semitic translation of a Minoan title? (Consider "Ben-hadad" of 1 K. 20 f. His real Aramaic name is "Bir-Idri" in cuneiform records. Hebrew compilers have translated it.) -- "Pharaoh King of Egypt" appears in Genesis 12:15 ff, while "King of Gerar" is in like story in Gen. 26:6-11. But since Gerar is proven by archaeology to have then been part of the Hyksos kingdom of Egypt, could not the "Pharaoh" and the "King of Gerar" represent the same supreme power? Difficulties are made over the non-Semitic name "Phicol". But the name "Phicol" survives through 2,000 years in this region: See Josephus, (Ant. 12-4-2). And "priest-king" with a "Captain of the hosts" is regular still in Josephus' time: At Gaza, Zoilus is the "tyrant" and Apollodotus "general of the army." (Ant. 13-12-4: 13-3-3.) (Consider Duncan, 136.)





### 80. Lines of Kings of Same Name.

And as for frequent occurrence of a royal title, or long lines of kings of the same name, compare the line of Karibael, King of Zabar, (Schoff, Periplous, 109) twelve Pharaohs called Rameses; four called Amenophis; four called Amenemhat; four Assyrian Tiglath-Pileasers; five Shalmanesers; four Ahaziah in Palestine (2 K. 1:1; 1 K. 22:40; 2 K. 8:26; 11:35; 13:1 and 16:1). Over fourteen Abgars of Edessa (ANF VIII: 652). Then consider change of name, as in 2 K. 23:34; 24:17; Solomon was Jedidiah, 2 Sam. 12:25.

Then the head of any Assyrian merchant colony in Asia Minor, 2400-2000 B.C., is "the Father" of it (Cappadocian tablets). So Abi-melek, "my Father-King", might be natural title for the head of a trade-colony in Palestine in the same age. (Again, "Abū" occurs in Egyptian as a term for small cattle, goats; a goat herd. Abi-melek might be a hybrid-compound for a "flock-prince," or "Shepherd-King!") as the Hyksos were explained to be!

### 81. Egyptian Law Seized Families.

Again, with regard to seizure of Sarah and Rebekah, Gen. 12: 10 ff; 26:6 ff; are these two versions of one incident, as document-analysts have asserted? Consider Egyptian law of the 12th Dynasty (2000 B.C.?) reported by Chabas: a Pharaoh might seize the family of any foreigner in Egypt (Knight, p. 103; as hostages?). Every immigrant ran that risk. Was Gerar then under Egyptian rule? Compare Milki-ilu in El-Amarna Letters (about 1400 B.C.); an unscrupulous adventurer in Gezer and Gath, he writes that Yankhamu, the Egyptian deputy in that region has seized his wife and children, and will kill them unless Milki-ilu pays 2,000 shekels silver (EAL 270). And consider David-Bathsheba. Taking all together, is skeptical criticism of the Abraham-Isaac stories justified?

### 82. Mycenaean and Achaian-Hivite.

A pre-Greek culture found by Schliemann at Mycenae and Tiryns we conveniently call "Mycenaean." The city Mukēnē, or plural form Mukēnai, is familiar in Homer; also the adjective Mukēnaios-a-on, and feminine adjective Mukēnis. But who are the people, ethnologically? In the Odyssey they are always "Achaians"; Latin, Achivi; Hittite, Ah-hiyawa; OT, Khivi; AV, "Hivites." But the fall of Troy was some 300 years later than the period now before us, and near 200 years later than the mention of Akhiyawa in Asia Minor records. Also the "Hivites," Egyptian Ekwesh, do not appear in Egyptian records till the time of Merneptah, about 1300 B.C. when they are one of a group of coast-people moving southward into Palestine. We cannot then identify the ancient culture of Mycenae as either Achaian or "Hivite." We deal with a pre-Achaian culture of a people whose name we do not certainly know! Consider again Sections 62-67 on Anak. The town-name Mycenae, and the adjective Mycenaean we do not find in the Old Testament, nor in the Egyptian records. But the peculiar culture of pre-Achaian Mycenae was powerful in Palestine in the two centuries preceding the Joshua invasion; beginning about 1450 B.C. Consider the case of Gezer, in Section 41, acknowledged later by Macalister to have been the home of a Mycenaean colony at one time.

### 83. Mycenaeans as "Canaanites."

In 1 Kings 9:16, the once Mycenaean Gezer is "Canaanite." In Gen. 36:2, a "Canaanite" might be Hittite, or Achaian (Hivite) or Nabatean? In Gen. 27:46 Rebekah says, "These Hittite girls make me tired!" (Esau's wives in 26:34). But in 28:1,8, they are "daughters of Canaan" while in Zeph. 2:5, Canaan is the land of Cretans and Philistines. The real reason so many visiting and trading people (cf. Section 71) cannot be identified in the OT is because they are included in the general term "Canaanite."

Now the Egyptian records from the XVIII Dynasty on, give us another form of the term "Canaanite" -- Kinahi (See ARE, index). This introduces a new ethnic element, the Hurrian. Philo of Byblos gives Kha as the original root word. Forms like Kinah-hi, Kinah-na, have suffixes of gentilic origin. It is familiar to Orientalists in the



last few years that he or hi is a Hurrian genitive-ending. Mat Hur-wu-hē, several times in the El-Amarna Letters, is simply "Land of the Hurru." (Compare Xenophon's "Cardu-chi".) In Kinah-hi then the Egyptian shows us a Hurrian population along the coast, using their own grammatical forms. And the last discoveries at Ugarit show such Hurrian culture was along the northern coast before any Semitic-speaking people. The Egyptian Kinah-na, when used, suggests later Semitic suffixes.

But no people giving Kinabhi or Kenabna as their gentilic name appears in the Egyptian records. The term is merely topographical. The Egyptian grouped all Mediterranean peoples as "Sea-peoples." There is OT evidence that this custom was accepted in Palestine; that the OT term "Canaan" includes all the Mediterranean cultures that we have noticed, the following passages show.

#### 84. "Sons of Ham" = Vassals of Khêmi, Egypt.

First of all, the writer in Gen. 10:6 undertakes to tell us of the "political sons" or vassals of Khêmi (Egypt). This is clarified when we read Thothmes III speaking of this Phoenician-Palestinian coast as "countries on the water of Egypt" (ARE II, 420). The whole Eastern Mediterranean is an Egyptian lake. Rameses II, 200 years later, calls it "Great Lake of the North" and boasts that he rules this sea (ARE III, 479). Of the "Canaan" vassals, Gen. 10:15-18 declares that Sidon was the earliest; then follow the Hittite coast-colonies, Yebus, Amor, (the Eleutheros valley; cf. S.8), the Teucrian Gergithes (?A.R.Burn, 156) or Gergesi (Egyptian, K-r-K-s), Achaians, Arkē, Sinna, Arvad, Simyra, and Hamath-Katna area. Then from Sidon southward, the Zakkara around Mt. Carmel appear in the Egyptian records to Joppa? (See Section 74.) Then the Philistines and Caphtor-Keretim to Gerar: thence colonies across to south end of the Dead Sea. The distinct character of "Canaan" is emphasized in Gen. 15:21; Ex. 3:8, 17; 23:23; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; "Canaanites" are not "Hittites," Amor, Achaians, Yabusi, Perizzi"; comparing with Joshua 3:10; 12:8; 17:11, the interior colonies are worsted: Canaanites held the sea-coast and the Dor Piedmont (3 towns).

#### 85. Pre-Conquest Canaanites Coastal Peoples.

Next, notice the reference to Canaanites in the conquest-stories: Num. 13:20, Canaanites by sea and by Jordan. In 14:25, 43, 45, in a gorge or wady (leading to the sea). In Josh. 5:1, Canaanites dwell by the sea. In 11:3, east and west of Merom lake. In Josh. 13:3 ff, from Ekron northward along sea, including Sidon and Gebal. Judg. 3:3; Philistines, Canaanites, Achaians, Sidonians; Judg. 1:27, Canaanites hold Sidon, Dor, Gezer, Kitron, Accho and other coast-points. Excavations have proved the older "Canaanites" of Gezer (Judg. 1:29; Josh. 16:10; 1 K. 9:16) to be Mycenaean. In 2 Sam. 24:7, David's census groups Sidon, Tyre, Achaians, Canaanites.

#### 86. All Foreign Traders "Canaanites."

In the above passages there is nothing to show that the "Canaanite" was specifically a foreign trader, though the possession of costly equipment which Israel did not have would suggest it to the thoughtful; see Judg. 1:19; 4:3, 13; 5:28; Josh. 17:16-18. But in Ex. 16:35 the LXX and Boheiric translate "Canaan" as "part of Phoenicia." Job 41:6 the AV "merchants" is the Hebrew Kena'anim; LXX has "tribes of Phoenicians." In Is. 23:8, of Tyre, "merchants are princes, Kena'anim the honored ones of the land"; LXX reads "traffickers are honored, ruling the land." In Prov. 31:24, the merchant-trader is Kena'ani. In Ezek. 17:4 "land of traffic" is paralleled with "city of Kena'anim" (Aramaic and Coptic versions have "fortified city.") Zeph. 1:11, the AV "merchant people" is the Hebrew Kena'anim, who are Philistine and Cretan in 2:5. In Hos. 12:7, "The merchant, with false balances" is the "Kena'ani." And Ges-Buhl lexicon sees the foreign "trader" in Zech. 14:21; so also J.M.F. Smith in Chicago translation. Naville (PSBA, 1915, 218) cites an Egyptian funerary papyrus for "Yutai Kema'na, "Kena'ana trader," with a non-Semitic name. Thus out-side the Pentateuch, three-fourths of the passages make "Canaanite" a "foreign trader." (1 K. 9:16; Ezra 9:1; do not specify.) Obadiah 20 has "Phoenician sea-coasts." For coast-traders securing the arable land, see Jarvis, pp. 2, 4, 60 ff.



### 87. Pre-exilic Israel Never Gained the Sea-Coast.

Now it is to be emphasized that Israel and Judah never gained a foothold upon all this sea-coast. The fact has often been noticed by historical scholars. Israelite settlements are all in the interior, which some coast-colonies penetrate (Compare the Anakim in Moab, Deut. 2:10; and Caphtor-Cretan colonies that we have studied.) Obadiah 20 has Canaanites a coast-people; Israel to possess as far north as Zarephath (Sarepta of Luke 4:26). Isaiah 23:8, calls the coast-princes "Canaanites" or coastal traders: Tarshish, Cyprus, Sidon, Tyre, etc. Is. 19:18 assures Egypt that the Canaan-folk will found colonies in Egypt. (Compare Daphne, Naucratis, Leontopolis, etc., in same century.) Zeph. 2:5 calls Canaan the sea-coast people: Cretans and Philistines; Zech. 14:21 does not like "Canaanite" temple-officials. See Cretan-Carian temple staff in Sections 72 and 73 above. In Gen. 12:10 ff; 20:1 ff; 26:1 ff. 16:3, observe that the Egypt-Gerar-Bersheba-Philistine-Canaan is the Minoan-Philistine-Edom area that we have studied. In Gen. 23:2; 24: 3,37, "Canaan" is the Anakim country of Josh. 14. The Mediterranean is "Sea of the Philistines" in Exodus 23:31. Compare terrible Canaanites of Num. 14:25, 43, 45, with Philistines of Ex. 13:17.

### 88. Canaan is "Coast-Land" in Hastings' DB.

Hence Hastings' DB 1:375 f. recognizes that Canaan simply means "coast-lands." Schroeder (Phönizische Sprache, p. 6) sixty years ago recognized this, and that "Canaanites" in the interior of Palestine are colonies of the coastal traders. Greek writers (e.g. Herodian) explain that Khna was the northern Phoenician coast. Eusebius quotes Philo of Byblos: "Khna was a brother of Phoenix, his name being first changed." The Phoenicians regularly speak of themselves as "Canaanites" (as on the coin of "Laodicea, a mother-(city) in Canaan"), and "Canaan" also means all the North African coast-colonies from Egypt to Algiers. Early Christian writers call this region "Canaan": and the mongrel Berber coast-land dialects were all "canaanitish." (For extended statement, read Godbey, The Lost Tribes a Myth, pp. 22, 54, 57, 65-67; 205, 229.) In no case do the Egyptian and Phoenician records apply the term "Canaan" to all Palestine.

A modern parallel is the Arabic term Suaheli, "coast-people," applied to the Moslemized Arab-negro porter and trader folk of the East African Coast.

But the fact that Israel has immortalized the land of its early schooling and age-long dreams as the "Land of the Canaanites" instead of "The Land of Semites" is an immortal tribute to the culture-colonies from the Mediterranean coasts.

### 89. Israel Begins Struggle with the Philistines.

Now, to consider in chronological order the OT data concerning the struggle with the Philistines, we must first recognize the very small area of the original Israel of Joshua. Consider Josh. 13:1-7, corroborated by Judges 1, and 3:1-6; Josh. 5:1. The forested condition of Mt. Ephraim: Josh. 17: 14-18. Captured only one hill-fort, 11: 1-14. Headquarters at Shechem, Josh. 24:1 ff, 25 f, 32 f: Bethel captured later, Judg. 1:22-26. The same small area in 1 Sam. 7:12-17; note Samuel's home. 1 Sam. 1:1; 25:1. The Jerusalem area still Jebusite: Judg. 1:21; Josh. 15:65; Judg. 19:10-12; 2 Sam. 5:6-10.

### 90. Edomite Power Older Than Israelite.

In Section 51 was noticed the possibility that the "Caleb people" originated in the Tell Fara\* region. Now in the OT Edomites are the pre-Israelite peoples of the south. Gen. 36 gives a long list of Edomite rulers, "before there was any king over the children of Israel" (verse 31). Observe there the nativity of Caleb; and Josh. 14:12-15; 15:13-19; Judg. 1:11-15. And the spread of Caleb in 1 Chron. 2:42-55. Kenaz and Amalek belong to this southern area. Edom holds East-Jordan, up to the Jabbok, in Gen. 32:3f; Ephraim north of that in David's time (2 Sam. 17:26; 18:6). Jerusalem rulers hold Edom as a part of their kingdom, to keep a Red Sea port. Note Saul, 1 Sam. 14:47; David, 2 Sam. 8:14; 1 Chron. 18:13 (cf. Ps. 60:8 ff.) Solomon,



1 K. 9:26; Hadad, 11:14 f; Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22:47; 2 K. 3, Jehoram, 2K. 8:20-22. Amaziah, 2 K. 14:7-10 (2 Chron. 25:20). Total, from Saul to Amaziah, about 275 years. Note Ps. 83:6; 137:7; Deut. 23:7. In the Prophets, Edom threatened: an independent power.

#### 91. East Edom and West Edom.

In the above, it is eastern Edom that revolts. But western Edom is South Judah, and combines with Cretans to make David king. Observe that "Aaron the Levite" (Ex. 4:14) has evidently fled to Edom when Moses fled to Midian (Ex. 4:27; Num. 20:22-29). He probably secured Calebite support, since Calebites and Aaronites hold the same towns. (Josh. 21:13-19) For Edomite elements in Jerusalem culture, see Sections 110-116.

#### 92. Philistine-Edomite Fusion.

Observe western Edom and Philistine-Cretan fusion. In 1 Sam. 30-14, David being Philistine governor, the Egyptian calls the region Keretim. Consider the towns in verses 26-31 to which David restored booty captured, in 14-16, from "the South of the Kerethi." Jerahmeel, Hormah, Hebron, Jattir, Ramoth-negeb, Kenites, Eshtemoah, Arcoer, all Edomite? (See Hastings' Dictionary and the Jerahmeel list in 1 Chron. 2:9, 25-42) So the Egyptian in 1 Sam. 30:14 recognizes the Kerethi as controlling the country Egypt had lost. Compare statement in Gen. 21:25-32, that "Philistines" held the interior as far as Beersheba in Abraham's time. Compare McAlister, "A Century of Excavation in Palestine," 162-164. Notice the priest-cities in Joshua 21:9-16. Were these Edomite, or Cretan priests? Observe Judges 3:1-3: the "Israelite" nomads learn art of war from the Philistines and "coastlanders" (the "Sea-peoples" of the Egyptian records: cf. Num. 13:29). Recent excavations show Mycenaean pottery appears in Palestine, near 1450 B.C.; disappears near 1250, long before Philistine pottery appears (1150 B.C.) at Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. 6). Earlier at Kirjath-Sepher; See Duncan, 84 f, 134, 143.

#### 93. Edom Absorbs Late Philistia: All the West-Jordan now "Palestine."

In Maccabean times, and later, western Edom has politically absorbed Philistia. The Roman province is "Idumea." Judas attacks Syrians at Emmaus, west of Jerusalem, and pursues to "Gadara, plains of Idumea, Ashdod, Jamnia." (Josephus, Ant. XII; 7:3) Dor, Mareshah, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Ascalon, Raphia are all in "Idumea" (Ant. XII: 15:4). Hebron, which was Edomite in the time of Caleb, is a chief city of "Idumea" (Wars, IV: 9:7). Josephus' Idumca reaches from Tekoa westward, passes a little south of Bethlehem, and northwest to the sea. And the Idumeans claim equal rights in sacred offices in Jerusalem, "our common city"; "our common temple" (Wars, IV: 4:2. 4, 5, IV; 5:2 See "Idumea," in any index of Josephus, for more.) For Edom in the cult, see Sections 110-116. But while Philistia was becoming "Idumea," the whole of the Jewish land became, and remains, "Palestine."

#### 94. First Philistine Oppression.

We may survey again some of the data considered, following in chronological order the OT references to Philistine contacts with the Israel led by Joshua. (There is no record of any earlier contact.) This Israel came in around 1250 B.C.

The first references are in Judg. 3:31; 10:11 (cf. 1:18; 3:3). No area, no locality mentioned. Shamgar (Hittite name) contemporary of Jabin, 4:1-24; 5:6-7. Shophet, "Judge"; the regular Hebrew term for any political leader, Judg. 2:15-23; Melek (Malik), AV "king" not an old Hebrew term: Judg. 8:22 f; 9:6, 18; 17:6; 19:1; 21:25.

#### 95. Second: Samson?

Judg. 10:6, 7, 11. Is this same as Samson story? Judg. 13-16? How much territory in this story? (11 place-names). Any organized Israel? or army? Is Samson a





reformer in any sense? Interest in any cult?

96. Third: The Eli-Shiloh story.

I Sam. 1-4. Was Samson in this period? (40 years in Judg. 13:1, 1 Sam. 4:18). Note Shiloh sex-orgies Judg. 21:19 ff; 1 Sam. 2:22. Did Philistines destroy Shiloh? Jer. 7:12; Ps. 78:57-70. See Danish excavations, JPOS, 1930; Ahijah in 1 Sam. 14:3.

97. Fourth: The Samuel-Saul Period.

Samuel's area, 1 Sam. 7:13-17. Cf. Section 89. Philistines hold Beth-Shemesh in Samson's country; and Kirjath-jearim, 1 Sam. 6-7:2: garrison north of Jerusalem, 10:5, 10; Did Samuel organize this "prophet-nomination-rant"? "The Gilgal" v. 8, seems near there; was it at Mizpeh? (vv. 17-25?) Renewal of some "Kingdom," 11:14 f; 13:4, 7, 15; 15:12, 21, 33. Note Saul's country, Gibeah, (10:26; 13:2, 15; 14:2; 15:24; 23:19; 26:1); battles for ridge north of him. Israel up to that time had no metals (13:19-25). Much important material here.

Excavations of the first importance should be noted here. Tell el-Fûl, four miles north of Jerusalem, and a quarter of a mile east of the main road, was long ago identified by Robinson as the "Gibeah of Saul" and "Gibeah of Benjamin." Albright began excavation there in 1921, not being able to do much with means then available (Annual ASOR, 1924). But excavations in the last seasons make it clear that a small village was burned there, near 1150 B.C. Probably the catastrophe of Judg. 19-21. Then in last days Early Iron, 1050-1000 B.C., a very considerable citadel was built there, 44 yards by 29, with double walls and projecting corner-towers: a small town about it. It was certainly built by Saul; and fell with him? Later history, down to Greek times, does not concern us here. (BASOR, Dec. 1933)

98. Saul Makes Israel's Political Power.

1 Sam. 11:14; 14:47; 15:1-9; 2 Sam. 1:24; but can not dislodge Philistines, 1 Sam. 12:52; 17; 25:27; fails in attack on Gilboa-Beth-Shean strongholds: (1 Sam. 31) Note strategy on map. Observe that David has fled from Saul's domain, and become a captain in Philistine employ, (1 Sam. 27, 28: 1-2; 29, 30). He is not King!

99. Fifth: David as Philistine Vassal.

Judah at peace, Israel not; 1 Sam. 27: 1-7; 28: 1, 2, 29; 1. 11; 30:26; 30:14-16. Ziklag-Gilboa are synchronous (2 Sam. 1:1-16; 4:10). David still vassal, (2 Sam. 5: 1-5); Mahanaim is Israelite G.H.Q. (2 Sam. 2 ff, 12, 29; 4:5 ff). Israel's choice of David against Abner Philistines had counted their own, (2 Sam. 15:17-25, 18:1; 21: 13-22).

100. The Cretans Save the David Dynasty.

Consider again the Karî bodyguard, in Sections 72, 73, above. Add the guards of Rehoboam, 1 Kings 14:25-28. Consider the control of succession in 1 Kings 1:38, 44; 2: 30-35, 44-45; 1 Chron. 18:17. Note Solomon does not rule Philistia, (1 Kings 4:21). See Jehoiada (2 Kings 11:4 ff, 19): Karî = "Captains" in AV.

101. David's Pelethites and Cretans against the later Philistines.

Revert for a moment to the facts noted in Sections 29, 30. Pelethites in 2 Sam. 8-18. 20:3; 1 Chron. 18:17; 2 Sam. 15:18; 20:7; 1 Kings 1:38, 44, associated with the Cretans. In Num. 16:1, a ben-palet or Pelethite is one of the Jerahmeelites of southern Judah. Are the Pelethites identical with "Philistines"? Are they connected with Beth-Palet of Josh. 15:27; Neh. 11:26?



## 102. Beth-Pelet Restored.

Beth-Pelet means "House of Escape" or "refuge"; probably because a border-stronghold for refuge from nomad marauders like the Amalekites. The modern name Tell Fara<sup>a</sup>, 18 miles south of Gaza, is the ancient Beth-Pelet; while Albright thinks it is Sharuh-en of Josh. 19:6; a Hyksos stronghold; besieged as already stated in Section 49. Petrie, Duncan and others think Tell Fara<sup>a</sup> is Beth-Pelet. Following its 25 Hyksos kings was a line of "Philistine" or Cretan lords, shown by relations with synchronous Egyptian kings, to have ruled from 1320 to 1100 B.C. Section 52. Such Minoans were settled there still earlier (Section 74); they seem "lords" long before time of Rameses II; 150 years before Philistine invasion under Rameses III. Five great tombs have already been found, some containing seven to nine successive burials. (Royal family vaults?) The contents of the tombs shows weapons of steel and bronze, against the flint of Palestine (1 Sam. 13:19-23). The whole rich plain for fifty miles south was the grain basket of Crete, and the industrial-commercial base for their trade through the Red Sea. The pottery in the tombs is of Cretan patterns. (Petrie, London Times, 5-4-1929; 7-1-1929, p. 15; 7-9-1930; 7-9-1931; 7-11-1930; 7-17-1930; ILN, June 30, 1928; Duncan, 144-147; Beth-Pelet I; Beth Pelet II).

## 103. What Became of Gath?

Note confederacy against Israel, Ps. 83:7; 108:9; but an ally, Ps. 60:8; 87:4. Any discrepancy? Gath belongs to Rehoboam, 2 Chron. 11:8. Did David repatriate Ittai of Gath (2 Sam. 15:17-25) as a governor, who would be loyal to David? Solomon had a King of Gath, 1 K. 2:39 ff. Gath seems to belong to Judah till Hazael's time, 150 years later, when it seems to belong to Ashdod, 2 Chron. 26:6. Ekron a royal oracle 2 K. 1:2; cf. Isaiah 2:6. (Lord of what flies?) Courting Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. 17:11; plunder Jehoram, 21:16 f. Libnah of Josh. 10:29, (Probably the excavated Tell el-Hesi) probably started the trouble by revolting to the Philistines, 2 K. 8:22: is Philistia for Sennacherib, 2 K. 19:8. Philistia a refuge from famine, 2 K. 8:3. Hazael takes Gath from Judah, 2 K. 12:17. Uzziah captures it, 2 Chron. 26:6. But Sargon of Assyria captures it from Ashdod again in 711 B.C. Gath no more in history. This is emphasized by the fact that Sargon's son Sennacherib attacks Askalon as the leader of the revolt, and captures from it Joppa, Beni-Berak (Josh. 19:45) Beth-Dagon of Josh. 15:41; 19:27; but he knows no Gath. Micah 1:1, 10, 14 is earlier than Sargon's capture of Gath.

## 104. Earlier Lost Gaths.

The name "Gath" is a Masoretic mispointing of a name familiar in Palestine 2000 years before Masoretic times. The real name almost appears in "Gittite, Gittith, Gittah, Gittaim." Men of Gath are "Gittites" (Josh. 13:3; 2 Sam. 6:10; 15:18 ff. 21:19.) Semitic languages assimilate an n to a following t. The name Gintu, Ginti, Ginta, then is not Semitic. But the El-Amarna Letters, (1450-1350 B.C.) show us the towns Ginti-Kirmil (Carmel) Ginti-ashna, Ginti-Padalla, Ginti-rimuni, (Gath-Rimmon, Josh. 19:45); Gamteti (a plural - the Gittaim of 2 Sam. 4:3). Ginti-padalla was in the plain of Jezreel, near Megiddo. Gina in the same region is mentioned by Josephus, and by Thothmes III in his account of the battle at Megiddo. It is considered to be the Ginath of 1 Kings 16:21. The forms Ginti and Gintu also occur in the EA Letters. The immediate point is that the same ancient culture that established the "Gath" of OT renown had a line of Gint-settlements up the coast and from Carmal across the Jezreel plain, before 1500 B.C. We do not know the meaning of the term; the Minoan script is not deciphered. But we see that when Philistines marched into the Jezreel Plain to contest that trade-route with Saul, they were 400 years later than Thothmes III, and perhaps 2,000 years later than their forebears who had established those Gintu-stations.

## 105. Egypt, Opposing Scythian Invasion, 640 B.C. ff. Mistress of Philistia.

Observe that Josiah, 2 K. 23:8, rules only from Geba to Beersheba. But the list in Josh. 15:21 ff, includes a score of cities that were certainly Philistine throughout previous Judean history. Probably the administrative change was made by the Egyptian Psamtik I (663-609) who swept through Philistia, fortified Gerar for himself, cap-



tured Askelon speedily but was twenty-nine years in taking Ashdod. He swept up the coast to Arvad. Josiah certainly could not have annexed all these Philistine cities without the permission of Psamtik. It must be that the said Joshua list does not represent any conquest of Philistia by Josiah but an annexation to his domain by Psamtik for Egyptian administrative purposes. See Necho adjusting Judah after Josiah's death, 2 Kings 23:28-36.

#### 106. From Isaiah to Ezra, 720-400 B.C.

Philistines raid Ahaz, (2 Chron. 28:16 ff; cf. Is. 9:12). Hezekiah drives them back (2 Kings 18:8).

Philistines an ally who carry Israelites to western lands, Is. 11:14; will fail Israel, Micah 1:10-15 f. Scythians will desolate, Zeph. 2:1-7; Philistine women are better than those of Judah, Ezek. 16:27. They seek revenge: will be swept away, 25:16ff.

Just here notice an Egyptian document from the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It tells of Pet-Isis, "an envoy to Kina'na and Pulesati"; probably sent by Hophra of Jer. 44:30. The point of interest is that the Egyptians themselves are now using "Pulesati" as a regional or geographical term; but not yet for all "Palestine." They still hold the term Kina'na (Canaan) for more northerly regions. (CAH. II; 295).

#### 107. Yahu-Cult at Gaza, 400 B.C.

Now observe the post-exilic Neh. 13:23-25, near 400 B.C. and the still later contrasting attitude of Zech. 9:1-7; (considered later than 300 B.C.); asserting that Yahu worship will win the remnant of the Philistines. In connection with these consider a famous Philistine coin in the British Museum. (See S.A. Cook, 147, 186, and plate XXXII, originally described in PSBA, 1908; 45 ff). It is considered a coin of Gaza. Yahu is the city-god! The date is about 400 B.C.; about the time when the fanatic Nehemiah did not like to hear any Jews speak the language of the Philistine Ashdod! The writer of Zech. 9:1-7 seems to us far wiser. Did Ahaziah inquire of the Philistine god of Ekron (2 K. 1) because said god was more like Yahu than we suppose? Or was Yahu already "Lord of Flies" (Souls) at Ekron? For Gaza was also called Minoa in the Greek period, and Minos is pictured on Gaza coins. (Hill, Greek Coins of Palestine lxxii.) There was certainly syncretism of the Yahu and Minos cults.

#### 108. Yehûd State: No Yahu Jar-handles.

Many jar-handles of post-exilic time have been recovered, bearing, as first read, the name Yahu. But Dr. E. L. Sukenik, of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, has subjected these and other epigraphs to a searching re-examination. He has proved that the reading "Yahu" is an error; the name is really "Yehûd", the Aramaic form of "Yehudah," or Judah. So Nehemiah and his associates were really establishing under Persian protection, a state declared to be "Judah only"; and Aramaic was its lingua franca, or official language. Another silver coin of the fourth century B.C. has been found with the same inscription: the last letter an unmistakable d. Then a four-letter stamp in archaizing Hebrew characters, formerly read Adayah is now seen to contain a monogram already known from fifth century ostraka of the Jewish colony at Elephantine, followed by three letters Yhd (Yehûd). This monogram follows the words lmlk, "belonging to the king," referring to the royal fiscal service. Thus coin-stamps of Judah's fiscal service 500-200 B.C. are now known. And a pentagram stamp formerly read Shelem-Yâu is now seen to be Yerushalem; it suggests an administration that did not include more than the city and its environs, perhaps under the high priests Johanan and Jaddua. Another coin found at Beth-zûr with the name "Hezekiah" on one side may have been struck by the high priest Hezekiah, mentioned by Josephus. (Albright, BASOR, Dec. 1933, p. 20: Feb. 1934, 20 ff.)

#### 109. The Philistine Type Survives.

The modern Jewish ethnologist, R. N. Salaman, in a recent PEF article considers



"What Became of the Philistines?" (See AJA, 1925, p. 463, and "Racial Origins of Jewish Types," Tr. Jew. Hist. Soc. England, 1922, 103-184.) He finds that one-fourth the native Jewish population of Modern Palestine is of the Philistine physical type! The total of the Semitic or "Arab" type is not more numerous! The Hurrian and Indo-European type total half the native Jewish population.

And the power of Philistine culture so impressed all the ancient classical writers that they have made its memory immortal by calling the land PALESTINE (Section 93).

#### D. A Glance at Some Elements in Cultus

Special interest attaches to Edomite and Minoan influences because of their long and unbroken contacts. The student should remember the evidence on earlier Israelite cultus, stated in Section 4 of the Preface.

##### 110. Edomite Elements in Cultus.

The ark made by a great-grandson of Caleb (Ex. 31:2f; 1 Chron. 18-21). And when David found moving the ark dangerous, he put it in the care of an "officer of the god Edom"--Obed-Edom of Gath, 2 Sam. 6:12. Observe that Othniel and Kenaz are ancestors of an Edomite "valley of artisans" or "craftsmen" (charashim) in 1 Chron. 4:13 f: workers in metal and wood. They claim an ancestor Jo-ab, "Yahu is father." Is this "valley" the Gerar-Beersheba glen, of Sections 48 to 54? Then, consider new discoveries by Horsfield that ancient Moab and Edom were rich copper-producing countries, with flourishing towns and villages of the Bronze Age and important commerce; and that a line of Early and Middle Bronze towns (3000-1500 B.C.) ran from Bashan south through Moab and Edom! (Section 33). (BASOR, no. 55, p. 10; no. 43, p. 22, no. 45, p. 29). Correlate this with the reminiscence of powerful pre-Edomite peoples there, Deut. 2:10, 20; and with the just-mentioned Exodus story of skill in all metallurgy in certain Calebites of Edom. The assertion that the story of the wilderness-tabernacle is impossible is archaeologically contradicted.

##### 111. Note Aaronite priests in Calebite Towns.

(Josh. 14 and 21:13-19), with Caleb, Judg. 1:10-15. How reconcile? Observe that Aharôn ("Aaron") means "mountaineer." And Aaron's home is Mt. Hor, in the land of Edom (Num. 20:22-29, 21:4; 33:37-39; Deut. 32:50). It is Moserah in Deut. 10:6; Num. 33:30. (See G. L. Robinson, SAC, pp. 263 ff.)

112. The Edomite almond (shakéd, "awakener") in the ark-cultus? Num. 17:8; Ex. 25:33, 34; 37:16-20; Jer. 1:11. See Hastings' DB, "Almond." Contrast the pomegranate, in Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings 7:20, 43; Jer. 52:22 f: and on late priestly robes, Ex. 28:33 f; 39:24 f; Josephus, Ant. 111: 7:4, 7.

##### 113. Edom He-Goat, or Ibex, in OT Ritual,--The "Sin Offering."

The ordinary domestic he-goat is attûd. This never occurs in OT ritual. Seventy-six times we have se'ir; shaggy goat? Shivering goat? It is debated. The Ibex is recognized, probably an "oracle-goat"; in 2 K. 23:8 (AV. "gates") Such wild-goat oracles may underlie the repudiation of se'irim in Is. 13:21; 34:14; Lev. 17:7; 2 Chron. 11:15, where the AV has "devils," or "satyrs." Jews charged with worship of Mendesian goat in CHA, v-ii (ANF, VII, p. 443; and Wilkinson III-303). Compare rabbinical assertion that the devil appears as a very hairy goat; and that Minim (heretics, Christians) count the scape-goat "a second god." (Herford, 316 ff.)

##### 114. Edom in Literature.

Read R. H. Pfeiffer, "Edomite Wisdom," in ZATW, 1926, pp. 13-22. So S.A. Cook, who





however, thinks of postexilic Edomite settlement; not Minoan, in CAH.

#### 115. No Edomite God Condemned.

Observe again that while Moab, Ammon, Sidon, Egypt, etc. have distinctive national gods (Chemosh, Milkom, Ashtart, etc.) which are condemned, there is no condemnation of any Edomite god. On the contrary the Shaddai of the Edomite Job (24 times; AV, "Almighty"), is declared to be same as Yahu, in the patriarch-stories; El-Shaddai in Ex. 6:3; to be known to Abram in Gen. 17:1; Isaac, 28:3; Jacob, 43:14; 48:3; Shaddai, to Jacob, 49:25; and in Balaam story, Num. 24:4; and of Naomi, Ruth 1:20, 21. Observe that Shaddai is not in the early Abram and Jacob stories; only in their Edomite residence. In Gen. 48:3 El-Shaddai is declared to have been the god of the dream at Luz, later Beth-el, in 28:10-19. Was the Edomite Shaddai the god of the initiation--wrestling in Gen. 32? See Edom frontier in verses 1-7, 22 ff; 33:1 ff.-- Shaddai is the name still stamped on every mezuzah, or Jewish doorpost-charm; considered prescribed in Deut. 6:4-9.

#### 116. Who Compiled These Edomite Elements?

Consider the insertion of a summary of Edomite notables in Gen. 36. Who, what people, furnished this? Why inserted at this point? (An interruption of the story of Israel-development). Were the patriarch-traditions originally Edomite, and here edited in the interest of the later political leadership of Israel? Is Gen.25:23 Etiological?

With regard to this Edomite element in Early Hebrew history S.A.Cook (CAH, 11: 478 ff) suggests a "Calebite rebuilding of Judah" consequent upon Edomite immigration after Nebuchadrezzar destroyed Jerusalem: cf. Jer. 49:7-22; Lam. 4:21 ff; Ezek. 25:8; Obadiah; Joel 3:19; the Caleb families in 1 Chron. 1:42 ff; and 4:13-22, "the records are ancient." Shall we call the Caleb settlement postexilic; or pre-Jewish, as in initial paragraph above?

#### 117. Survey Glotz, and Evans' "Palace of Minos" for cultus-elements.

With the fact before us that the Minoan or Cretan culture was long solidly planted in the region of Gerar and Beth-Pelet and Sharuhen and fifty miles southward, we have seen that this culture combined with the invading Edomites and largely shaped the kingdom we call "Judah." But also Mycenaean garrison and trade-colonies in Palestine, between 1500-1250 B.C.; all grouped under the general term "Canaanite" (Coastlanders) in the OT. For some appreciation of the cultural influences from the Aegean, we will read the first half of Glotz, Aegean Civilization; then glean from Evans, "Palace of Minos."

For a rapid semester's survey for English students, about three weeks may be allotted to Glotz, omitting parallel portions in Evans. But in Evans the invaluable Introduction should be carefully scanned. Then all pictures, plans, architecture, should give a rapid, vivid impression; especially of the cultus-features indicated in the references below. There is not time for more than a few days of this, in undergraduate's short course.

But-NB! -- From Evans' book the student may gain the impression that the great Minoan culture developed out of the Neolithic underlying it, though no trace of the world-famous double-axe is found in the deep Neolithic deposits. Evans thought it intrusive from somewhere in Western Asia.

Now in 1933, the British Excavation at Tall Arpachiyah ("Hill of the Barley people"), near Nineveh, pierced ten strata. The upper four showed culture identical with the oldest found at Ur, Kish, Lagash, and Erech in Southern Mesopotamia; approximately 4000 B.C. The strata beneath show an older and very different culture, which the southern invaders had driven out. And in the 6th and 7th strata were found double-axe amulets, and circular stone foundations like those of Mycenaean bee-hive tombs, with fragments of mud-vault roofs. This unknown culture was driven from what was later northern Assyria probably 1000 years before it mastered Neolithic Crete (London Times, 7-14-1933; ILN, 6-27-1931; 7-10-1932; 5-13-1933; 9-16-1933.)



however, thinks of postexilic Edomite settlement; not Minoan, in CAH.

115. No Edomite God Condemned.

Observe again that while Moab, Ammon, Sidon, Egypt, etc. have distinctive national gods (Chemosh, Milkom, Ashtart, etc.) which are condemned, there is no condemnation of any Edomite god. On the contrary the Shaddai of the Edomite Job (24 times; AV, "Almighty"), is declared to be same as Yahu, in the patriarch-stories; El-Shaddai in Ex. 6:3; to be known to Abram in Gen. 17:1; Isaac, 28:3; Jacob, 43:14; 48:3; Shaddai, to Jacob, 49:25; and in Balaam story, Num. 24:4; and of Naomi, Ruth 1:20, 21. Observe that Shaddai is not in the early Abram and Jacob stories; only in their Edomite residence. In Gen. 48:3 El-Shaddai is declared to have been the god of the dream at Luz, later Beth-el, in 28:10-19. Was the Edomite Shaddai the god of the initiation--wrestling in Gen. 32? See Edom frontier in verses 1-7, 22 ff; 33:1 ff.-- Shaddai is the name still stamped on every mezuzah, or Jewish doorpost-charm; considered prescribed in Deut. 6:4-9.

116. Who Compiled These Edomite Elements?

Consider the insertion of a summary of Edomite notables in Gen. 36. Who, what people, furnished this? Why inserted at this point? (An interruption of the story of Israel-development). Were the patriarch-traditions originally Edomite, and here edited in the interest of the later political leadership of Israel? Is Gen. 25:23 Etiological?

With regard to this Edomite element in Early Hebrew history S.A. Cook (CAH, 111: 478 ff) suggests a "Calebite rebuilding of Judah" consequent upon Edomite immigration after Nebuchadrezzar destroyed Jerusalem: cf. Jer. 49:7-22; Lam. 4:21 ff; Ezek. 25:8; Obadiah; Joel 3:19; the Caleb families in 1 Chron. 1:42 ff; and 4:13-22, "the records are ancient." Shall we call the Caleb settlement postexilic; or pre-Jewish, as in initial paragraph above?

117. Survey Glotz, and Evans' "Palace of Minos" for cultus-elements.

With the fact before us that the Minoan or Cretan culture was long solidly planted in the region of Gerar and Beth-Pelet and Sharuhin and fifty miles southward, we have seen that this culture combined with the invading Edomites and largely shaped the kingdom we call "Judah." But also Mycenaean garrison and trade-colonies in Palestine, between 1500-1250 B.C.; all grouped under the general term "Canaanite" (Coastlanders) in the OT. For some appreciation of the cultural influences from the Aegean, we will read the first half of Glotz, Aegean Civilization; then glean from Evans, "Palace of Minos."

For a rapid semester's survey for English students, about three weeks may be allotted to Glotz, omitting parallel portions in Evans. But in Evans the invaluable Introduction should be carefully scanned. Then all pictures, plans, architecture, should give a rapid, vivid impression; especially of the cultus-features indicated in the references below. There is not time for more than a few days of this, in undergraduate's short course.

But-NB! -- From Evans' book the student may gain the impression that the great Minoan culture developed out of the Neolithic underlying it, though no trace of the world-famous double-axe is found in the deep Neolithic deposits. Evans thought it intrusive from somewhere in Western Asia.

Now in 1933, the British Excavation at Tall Arpachiyah ("Hill of the Barley people"), near Nineveh, pierced ten strata. The upper four showed culture identical with the oldest found at Ur, Kish, Lagash, and Erech in Southern Mesopotamia; approximately 4000 B.C. The strata beneath show an older and very different culture, which the southern invaders had driven out. And in the 6th and 7th strata were found double-axe amulets, and circular stone foundations like those of Mycenaean bee-hive tombs, with fragments of mud-vault roofs. This unknown culture was driven from what was later northern Assyria probably 1000 years before it mastered Neolithic Crete (London Times, 7-14-1933; ILN, 6-27-1931; 7-10-1932; 5-13-1933; 9-16-1933.)



# 118. Altar-Horns in "The Palace of Minos".

Notice the pictures and indexed passages; with commentary, locate OT passages. In Exodus, Leviticus, blood is rubbed on them. In Ex. 30:3, overlaid with gold. Gild the horns of a sacrifice is familiar in the Odyssey (3:419 ff); and tall ox-horns are a regular feature of Minoan altars; cf. Gilding the altar, Matt. 23:16; CHA, v-11 (ANF, VII, p. 443).

119. Sidelocks. (Evans, II:34) Compare Godbey, Chap. XX. An ancient Berber custom: still survives. Jews have adopted. Not found in Arabia; cf. Jer. 25:23, "corners of hair cut off."

120. The Butterfly-Soul: weighed, as souls weighed in Egypt. (Evans, I, 705 f; II; 278 f, 482, 787 ff.) Lord of Flies, god of Ekron, 2 K. 1:2 f, declares Life or Death, cf. Psyche and her butterfly wings! (Liddell and Scott, s.v. psyche, VI). White cabbage - butterfly! In vol. III pp. 148-153 Evans notices golden butterflies with the dead; gold balance for weighing souls, with butterflies embossed on the pans, in third shaft-grave at Mycenae; two chrysalises are portrayed over a youth and maid who meet in Elysium. Pictures of white butterfly chrysalises are painted; and Cretan peasants still call butterflies "little souls."

Such thought about the dead in Palestine for ages before Israel arrived!

# 121. The cult of the Dead.

(Evans, I:438 f, 447. Would he now include snakes and doves?)

# 122. The Ancestor-Spirit as a Snake.

(Evans I:495 ff, 509; pictures, passim) wrongly, "snake goddess." But in new discoveries (London Times, 6-20-1930, p. 15) rightly speaks of "domestic-snake". Thirty years ago, in Myceanean Tree and Pillar Cult, he noted survivals of the "house-mother-snake" in Aegean coasts. Read Ovid, transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia into ancestral snakes that dwell in the temple. Evans has found the temple-tomb of Minoan priest-kings built into the rocky hillside at Knossos. There is a chamber, for the ancestral snake, and milk-pots for them. Signet ring shows that the Minoan mother-goddess was also keeper of these royal dead. (Times, 7-30-1931). Brass snakes have been found in Minoan snake pits at Gezer. Now consider 2 K. 18:4. Was this brass snake supposed to represent Moses himself? Gather all the "divination" passages in the OT. (AV) The Hebrew word in each case is "snake"! Were these snake-oracles ancestors? Joseph used "snakes" Gen. 44:5, 15; Syrians in 1 K. 20-33.

Such thought about the dead was in Palestine for ages before Israel arrived!

# 123. Dove-Souls.

(Evans I:222-224; 440-635; pictures passim) compare Greek Phassa or Phatta, "wood-dove, wood-pigeon"; pherse-phatteion, "a temple of Proserpina," Queen of the dead; Phere-phatta, Pharephatta, "Wild-dove Bearer," a title of Proserpina. (Liddell and Scott, Lexicon. Greek inheritance from Minoans?)

# 124. The Interceding Mother-Goddess.

(Evans I:198) Compare "Mother and Child" (II:277). How closely related to Egyptian Isis and Horus - the Catholic "Virgin and Child"? (cf. Draper, p. 47 f, 71 f). How far was the intercessory Palestinian Queen of Heaven affected by the earlier Minoan? Or was Anat (Greek Athene) of Minoan origin?

# 125. The Double-Axe, and Thunderer-Bull.

(Evans, pictures passim, I:469: 11: 25f). Compare Thor's hammer: Hittite or Hurrian double-axe of Storm-God Teshup (Jove? Tshu'v?)

# 126. "The Earth-Shaker" Cult.

(Greek, Poseidon, Latin "Neptune," a submarine God). Worshipped in subterranean



chambers, with bull-sacrifices, when Knossos is ruined by earthquakes. (Evans, 1:30a, 324, 623 ff; II:312 ff, 360, 542. See Homer's Odyssey.)

127. Holy Springs.

(Evans, II:127 f, 134, 138) What of such in Palestine? Compare Cave-Sanctuary with Baetyllic stone: (Evans, 1:153-163).

128. Peacock-plumes; priestly or royal insignia.

Evans II:2, frontispiece; and p. 685). But why are lilies and crocuses given these royal or priestly insignia? (pp. 773, 776, 777, 779). Why in 1 Kings, 10:22?

129. Position of Woman in the Minoan Art.

How far a directrix of liturgy? Compare Ex. 38:8; 1 Sam. 2:22; Num. 4:23; 2:24; 4:3; 30, 35; 2 K. 23:7.

130. Any Sexual Nudity ever Found in Minoan Art?

Compare Ex. 32:25; 2 Sam. 6:20; 1 Sam. 19:24; Hos. 23; Micah 1:8, 11; Ex. 20:26; 28:42; Ezek. 16:22. What do you see in Semitic or Oriental art?

131. Consider Skin wearing, when sacrificing. (Gen. 27:15 ff. and Evans, 1:438).

132. Consider the "Priest-King"

In Evans' portrayals, compare the Philistine tseran of Sec. 76a. Notice in 1 Sam 5:8, 11, 18, these lords pass on matters of oracle, ritual, etc. Are they essentially "Priest-Kings"? Did Ahaziah send to the Seran of Ekron? 1 K. 1:2? Note that the King of Damascus in 2K. 5:5 ff. thought his plea for help had to go to the King of Israel.





## PART TWO

## INFLUENCE OF EGYPT ON ANCIENT PALESTINE

1. This outline is intended to get vividly before the student the fact that Palestine for more than two thousand years was ruled by Egypt, and permeated with some Egyptian ideals. All Israelite development was under the spell of some Egyptian influence; Israelite kings at times being subjects of Egypt. Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," Acts 7:22. Consider first section of Minoan-Philistine Outlines.

## 2. Egypt Never Isolated.

A primal necessity for the student is to rid himself of the idea that the ancient populations of the Nile Valley were ever in any sense isolated from the rest of the world. He must rid himself of the idea that there was no ancient commerce with other nations, and no struggle for empire over them. All old books that set forth the idea of Egyptian isolation are to be summarily discarded.

## 3. Sea Contacts.

Incessant trade-relations with all the Mediterranean coasts resulted from the 200 miles seafront of the Delta. The Nile again was a river-road to all Central African trade. The Red Sea opened the way to all the coastal trade of the Indian Ocean, from India to South-Africa. The "Indian" Ocean was the "Erythraean," or "Red" Sea, in the Greek writers, and those of the earlier Christian centuries, and any coast of it might be called "India"; a fact that confuses some modern readers. (For "India", from Indus=Hindu=Sindu="Sea-Land", see LTM index.)

As for Mediterranean contacts, more than 300 Egyptian objects have been found in the Cretan-Aegean area, while more than 1500 have been recovered from Rhodes alone. The Egyptian or Hebrew name for this international emporium is not yet known to us. And these objects range from predynastic to Persian times: through more than 3000 years. (Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, 1930).

## 4. Climatic Changes.

We have next to readjust all our thinking of the ancient world to the fact of great climatic changes. The Sahara, all inland Arabia, Central and Eastern Persia, Turkestan, Central and East-Central Asia, is now one great desert belt. But it had forests, abundant rainfall, and a vast population, when a glacial ice-cap covered Central Europe, crowding it with reindeer, mammoth, and other Arctic animals. We find historic migrations produced by the gradual drying up of these millions of square miles.

(For the recent drying up of the Sahara, where ox-trains once carried the commerce, the student may read Angus Buchanan, "Sand," in Asia, May-August, 1926; Rennell Rodd, Veiled People of the Sahara; Dr. John Ball, "Problems of the Libyan Desert," in Geographical Journal, July, August, Sept., 1927; Harding-King, Mysteries of the Libyan Desert, pp. 88-95, and Appendix; De Prorok, Art and Archaeology, Dec. 1928 and Jan. 1931; Hassanein Bey, The Lost Oases. Dr. Junker reports a large Byzantine city of the fifth century at Kashem El-Gaud in the Egyptian Wady Natrun. Hardy Bedouin cannot live there now. (London Times, 4-2-1932) Petrified forests are in the Sahara; (Harding-King, 90; 212) in Egypt between Cairo and Suez (Durbin, 1:93 f). Palaeolithic artifacts lie on the surface, from the Nile to the Atlantic. Ancient towns have been lost in the increasing sand. But palaeoliths are not on the surface all the way from the Sudan to the Mediterranean. See Section 6.



### 5. Glacial Africa.

But petrification carries us into an immemorial geological past. Read Knight, pp. 18-25; the uncorrelated fragmentary knowledge of ancient man in Egypt and Palestine, before 1920. Then add to this the fact that certain of the glacial periods familiar to the European geologist actually extended into North Africa. Evidence of glaciers in the Atlas Mountains of Morocco-Algiers is abundant, at heights reported from 3000 to 6500 feet (Hugo Obermaier, Revue Archaeologique, 1930; pp. 253-273). And in Palestine also a glacial period is a fact of the Lebanon ranges. See below.

### 6. Pleistocene Egypt.

Read now Olmstead, chap. 1: pp. 1-15, on Palestinian geologic periods. With the immense antiquity of humanity in Palestine, compare Breasted's recent conclusion, based on Sandford-Arkell surveys (Prehistoric Survey Expedition, Chicago, 1928), that there is evidence of the presence of Pleistocene humanity in the Nile Valley, 500,000 years ago. (Address at opening of the Oriental Institute, Dec. 5, 1931). Pliocene strata of Lower Egypt are now beneath the sea. But worn Chellean and Acheulean artifacts are in beach-terraces of the Nile, 70 to 90 feet above present Nile level. Mousterian (50-150,000 years ago?) are in the terrace only 25 feet above the water level; and are in the Hawara Channel running to the Fayyum.

The student should have McCurdy's Human Origins within reach, for its pictures of artifacts. Current French terms, "Chellean, Acheulian," etc., so-called from the sites where found, are in general use for particular stages in artifact development. But the terms as used of Egyptian artifacts do not imply any connection with the people of ancient France, nor the same mode of subsistence. France, for illustration, had a long "Reindeer Period." Egypt and Palestine never had.)

### 7. Two Different Ways of Succession of Palaeolithic Cultures.

Where humanity has dwelt about a lake or stream slowly shrinking or falling, the oldest artifact will be on the highest part of the sloping shores. Where ages of development have taken place on one spot that is being slowly filled up, the oldest cultures are in the lower Strata.

Now around the Fayyum are a succession of terraces, oldest artifacts on highest terrace,--humanity following the beach down as lake shrunk. Desert conditions around are of modern or neolithic times. (Sandford and Arkell, Nature, 8-22-1931, p. 287) Sandford also announced before the Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences (London, August 1932) that the drying up of the Sahara began at the northern edge of the Soudan in Middle Paleolithic times: about 35,000 years ago. It had advanced northward to the latitude of Cairo by Neolithic times; about 15,000 years ago. That is, artifacts of the smooth stone age have not yet been found in the Sahara south of the latitude of Cairo.

By contrast with the Fayyum terraces, super-position from the most ancient times is found at the head of the Delta. The first clear case of succession by super-position of Paleolithic stages was found by Father Bovier-Lapierre at Abbassieh, a suburb of Cairo; Pre-Chellean types of artifacts, followed by Chellean, Acheulean, and Mousterian types, with remains of long-extinct animals (Revue de Deux Mondes, June, 1932, pp. 556 ff.) Such site then shows an equal claim to an age of 500,000 years, with the above, mentioned by Breasted.

### 8. Pleistocene African Men.

With above facts from the Egyptian area should be compared others from Africa. For inexperienced students and instructors will immediately raise the question suggested by Genesis, in chapters 2, 3, and 10; did man originate, or originally appear, at one only spot in the world? and spread thence through many lands? Or did humanity appear independently, or develop, at several widely separated points: Mongolia? South Africa? Java? China? Palestine? Kenya? Neither student nor instructor can settle this scientific question. Nor can it be debated at length in this course. But both



student and instructor will desire to know where the elementary recent facts may be learned.

Consider the finding of the "Springbok Man" of the Transvaal, fossilized in Pleistocene strata (ILN, 3-26-1929); Pre-Chellean to Aurignac artifacts, but no skeleton, abundant in the Zambezi River, below the Falls: (Lamplugh, 1905, in London Times, 9-9-1930, p. 9). The debated Taungs skull in Rhodesia Pleistocene, "1,000,000 years ago?" (Lit. Digest, 8-8-1925, p. 21; R.A.Dart, Natural History, 26: 315 ff.) Helmei Man (N.Y. Times, 9-15-1932), Rhodesian Man (ILN, 9-8-1928); review of these, R. Broom, (Sci. Am. Aug. 1929); the Limpopo Man, (London Times, 10-2-1929, p. 13); human artifacts in springs-deposited travertine of the Pleistocene period, in the Kharga Oasis (Caton-Thompson, Man, 1932, no. 158; SNL, 7-19-1932); the highly fossilized skeleton of the Asselar man found embedded in a very early upper Pleistocene stratum in a cliff in the Western Soudan, near the French post Asselar, in 1927; seeming a link between early man in Europe and early man in South Africa (SNL, 9-24-1932).

#### 9. Early Man in The Rift Valley Pleistocene.

This great cleft in Africa merits a special section because of its direct geological connection with Palestine. The Jordan -- Dead Sea -- Arabah -- Red Sea Cleft continues southward across Somaliland, through Abyssinia -- Lake Rudolph, passing a little east of Lake Victoria, and west of Mt. Kenya, continues including Lake Nyassa: thence south-east to the coast. The close connection of Jordan Valley flora with those of East Africa was partially noticed ere the penetration of Central Africa. (See Appendix C, Tristram's Land of Moab, 1873).

Recent explorations of the Rift between Mt. Kenya and Lake Victoria show that humanity has persisted there, through several successive pluvial periods; which are successive glacial periods of Europe. Dr. L. S. B. Leakey's first expedition collected in two years over 50,000 artifacts, ranging from Chellean to Aurignac types, associated with some remains of a high type of humanity and fossils of extinct mammalia (London Times, 8-1-1928; 3-7-1929, p. 15, 9-8-1930, p. 7; H.J. Fleure, Times 9-3-1929; Nature, 10-24-1931, p. 24). The type seemed like that at El-Bedari, Egypt (See Sections 23 ff.) Later at Oldoway reported skeleton associated with articulated fossil Deino theria, (Times, 12-11-1931); found later the skeleton were modern intrusions (Times, 9-11-1932). But new finds actually from ancient Pleistocene were reported in N.Y. Times, 9-3-1932, p. 1. Then in 1933, at Kanam, on the northeast shores of Lake Victoria, Leakey found in fossil beds fragments of three skulls, part of a lower jaw-bone, and crude stone artifacts of two stages or types, associated with fossil animal bones: two extinct elephants, a deinotherium, a mastodon, and some others, in strata of the middle Pleistocene.

So the Royal Anthropological Institute met at Cambridge to consider the evidence, and decided that the artifacts corresponded to the pre-Chellean and Chellean stages of Europe, and that the associated human fragments showed no characters inconsistent with their inclusion in the most modern type of humanity. (SNL, 4-29-1933; Science, 4-28-1933). Dr. Leakey, in his own account (SNL, 11-4-1933) says the lower jaw found at Kanam was in a stratum 500,000 years old, contemporary with the Ape-man of Java, but wholly different in characteristics, potentially a direct ancestor of some modern types of man.

In Antiquity (March, 1934, p. 96) Leakey points out the special significance of Oldoway. For the first time has a complete series of artifact types, from the oldest to the latest, been found in successive strata at one site. The eleven main divisions of artifacts-evolution are fully exhibited. A second fact is that never before have human remains been found associated with artifacts of Chellean or Acheulean type. What type of humanity made such, no one knew. Now from Kanam we have a jaw of the pre-Chellean stage, and from Tanjera parts of four skulls from the last stages of the Chellean.

Those studying the immemorial past of the African Mediterranean area have realized that the droughts of interpluvial periods drove a fine type of humanity northward into Europe, or eastward into the Nile Valley; the Sahara was a place of some culture origins. (Leakey, Times, 3-7-1929; 7-5-1930) Now, with a Badarian type? Cradled in the Rift Valley, we can see they would move down the valley, down the Nile, along the coasts of Somaliland and South Arabia.



## 10. Pleistocene Man Outside Africa.

For reference purposes the student will want the facts concerning the early appearance of humanity in other parts of the world. The Talgai petrified skull of early Pleistocene in Australia is to be considered (Sci. Am., 1-29-1916); the "Peking Man" or Sinanthropos, from the Chou-kou-tien caves, forty miles southwest of Peking, China. They show occupation from a Chellean to a flaking-stage of artifact-making, till the accumulated strata of hearth-ashes and rubbish were twenty-three feet deep (1,000,000 years ago? Times, 12-11-1931; Manchester Guardian, 11-27-1931, ILN, 10-19-1929; Times, 7-31-1930; 2-23-1932; Science, 1-27-1933; SNL, 1-28-1933; 8-5-1933; 10-6-1933; N.Y. Sun, 11-11-1933). Artifacts in Mongolian Pleistocene, (ILN, 1-16-1926)--Himalaya Pleistocene Man, (N.Y. American, 3-20-1933; Science, 3-24-1933). Pithecanthropus of Java (SNL 7-16-1932; 8-20-1932; Lit. Digest, 9-22-1923; Science, 6-10-1932; 8-8-1932). Solo Man, (ILN, 6-4-1932). - In Europe, See MacCurdy for Piltown man, Foxhall, Heidelberg, Neanderthal, etc.

More recently, J. Reid Moir has proved that along the coast of Norfolk and in parts of Suffolk the "Red Crag" strata overlie others containing artifacts suggesting a more powerful race than those of later-interglacial epochs; Moir dates these 500,000 years ago in the late Pliocene. That these are certainly artifacts has been accepted. A ruder and much earlier type that he styles "rostrato-carinates" and "eoliths" are still matters of debate. Moir thinks the "oldest, from the stratum in which they occur, are 1,000,000 years old (Sci. Am., Jan. 1926; editorial, Feb. 1926; Moir, Sept. 1926; Feb. 1927; Dec. 1931; June, 1932).

## 11. Pleistocene Arabia.

Looking next at Central and Northern Arabia; the Field Museum Expedition travelled thousands of miles there in 1927-1928, finding Palaeolithic artifacts on the surface in abundance from the northern Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Akaba, thence northward to the Euphrates. Strata exposed by erosion showed Chellean artifacts. Whence it is clear that primitive humanity found the conditions of life in ancient Arabia much the same as in North and Central Africa. Vast salt-marshes and lakes still in the depressions tell of ancient seas, as in North Africa. (Buxton, "PreSumerian Man," Dec. 1927; Henry M. Field, Natural History, Jan. Feb. 1929). But thousands of stone houses of an unknown race and culture, in a region where the camel and domestic cattle had not yet come from Central Asia, tell of an ancient settled, non-nomadic population. No trace of their mode of burial has yet been found, putting them in vivid contrast with the cave and megalith folk of Palestine. The remains left by this ancient people tell us that the drying up of this part of Arabia, like that of the Sahara, is an event of the Neolithic or modern period of man. A prominent Roman guard-station east of the Jordan is now 100 miles from any wells, while a line of Bronze-age cities 2000 years older than the Roman runs from Damascus south through ancient Bashan, Ammon, Moab and Edom. (See Minoan Outlines, Sections 33, 63.) Compare Palmer, Desert of the Exodus, 120, 185, 256, 271f., 285; the nawamis which the Bedouin believe to be "houses" are beehive-tombs of an ancient agricultural folk, that could not subsist there now. Read Olmstead, 52, 53.

## 12. Jebel Silsileh Boulders.

Special illustration of this process in Egypt; Sayce 50 years ago found a few miles north of Jebel Silsileh, 30 miles below Assuan, an ancient torrent-bed emptying into Nile from the west. A weathered sandstone boulder, water-worn two-thirds of its height, lay in the dry bed. The upper third had drawings of elephants, ostriches, and giraffes - animals gone from Egypt ere hieroglyphics began. These ancient drawings were weathered to the color of the rest of the stone. And over them an Eleventh Dynasty inscription (about 2100 B.C.) looking as fresh as if cut yesterday! Compare Minoan Outlines, Section 26.

## 13. Non-Semitic Origins.

Next we have to notice the ancient peoples put in motion by these climatic changes. First of all we have to disabuse ourselves of the notion that any so-called "Semitic" peoples originated culture in either Egypt or Palestine. (We know of no "Semitic" stock or "race" anywhere. See the Sections 7-15 of Minoan-Philistine Outlines.) In each land there still exist folk-customs and superstitions not traceable to any immigrant peoples. (See recent volume, by Winifred S. Blackman, The Fellahin of Upper Egypt; and the long-recognized fact that the hypogean rock-hewn tombs of the Jews in Palestine represent Israelite acceptance of the custom of cave-burial, prevalent among the aboriginal cave-dwellers of Palestine.)





dwellers of Palestine.)

#### 14. Capsian Stage: Mediterranean Stock.

Tunis,

We next observe the prehistoric Capsian-Mediterranean culture. "Capsian" is a term derived from Latin Capsa, modern Gafsa, in Algeria, where vast snail-shell mounds exist. The term describes a stage of culture; not a race or stock. The Beloit College Expedition of 1929-1930 worked in Algeria, in mounds of snail-shells, ashes, vegetable refuse, bone and stone tools. (The region has been worked by French archaeologists for forty years. They call such midden-heaps escargotières, from Escargot, "a snail.") The student should recognize that such accumulations of refuse, sometimes 50 feet deep, mean thousands of years of community or social life, with some established social institutions; without such men cannot live together. The people did not depend upon big game so largely as their contemporaries of southwestern Europe. They had a large vegetarian diet when cold France was furnishing reindeer-meat. Not an ax nor a spear-point was found among the thousands of artifacts recovered. These were of the Aurignac type; the bone tools were poorer. There was no pottery yet. (Mechta-el-Arbi; Excavations of 1926-27; Logan Museum Bulletin No. 2. Can the student tell how big game could be secured without flint-pointed weapons? Does the absence of axe or spear-point mean "no wars"? Can the student tell how boiling would be done by people who had no pottery?) More than one type of humanity appears in the region, through the ages. But the prevalent type at Mechta el-Arbi were a short people (five feet, three inches to five feet, five inches) with long narrow heads; not Cromagnon; long narrow nose; a type still common among the Berbers. There were ceremonial burials by their homes in their mounds, with flint and bone tools, showing definite convictions of a continued existence. (Dr. Collie, N.Y. Times, 7-1-1929. They had ostrich-egg cups or bowls, beads and other ornaments, and engraved eggshells.

#### 15. The Petroglyph Evidence.

All scholars recognize that we have the ancestors of what we call the Libyco-Berber folk, who became a dominant element in the western Delta of the Nile. Fundamental social and religious ideals were being shaped in these pre-historic times. The Capsian area we have seen to represent a Mesolithic or Microlithic stage; and the prominence of agricultural diet, as in Palestine, means that each region missed the interruption of a great ice sheet, that entirely stopped development in Western Europe. Social-agricultural institutions continued to develop.

An immense body of evidence from prehistoric rock-drawings has accumulated within the past few years. In the Berber area the Bubalis antiquus or buffalo, appears most frequently; then the elephant, rhinoceros, lions, ostrich, panther, gazelle, wild goats, wild oxen, hartebeest, Tuareg sheep--the long-legged sheep that ages later was identified with the Egyptian cult of the god Amen or Ammon. The proto-Berber stations extended far south into what is now the dry Sahara (Hugo Obermaier, Revue Archaeologique, 1930, pp. 253-273.)

Hassanein Bey found them on cliff-sides in the Owenat Oasis; at the ground-level. He observes that there are no camels. (The camel, native in Central Asia, was brought into North Africa by the Romans.) But there were giraffes, which cannot live in a desert country. The lines in the rock are 1/4 to 1/2 inch deep, weathered by ages. Edges can be rubbed off with the finger in some places. (Lost Oases, p. 229) But the student should know that Owenat--better Uweinât--means "Little Springs," and is not properly an "oasis," whose water is subterranean or artesian, coming from highlands far away. Uweinât is a mountain, rising to a height of 6217 feet; its table-land top extends 25 miles north and south, 30 miles east and west; its own winter rainfall maintains its little springs. It is about 475 miles due west of the Second Cataract of the Nile. (See W.B.K. Shaw, "The Mountain of Uweinât," Antiquity, 1934.)

Col. J. G. B. Statham, reporting the like in the Atlas Mountains, South Oran region, observes that some of the buffalo are a species that became extinct in Pleistocene times; suggesting an equal antiquity for such drawings. The wild ass and small elephant, both extinct in this part of Africa, are shown; the Tuareg ram, crowned with the Sun (the above "Ammon" cult) is common; cult lasted to mediaeval times. In some cases the whole figure bounded by deep lines is deeply scraped and polished; a work of immense labor. Why? (ILN, 8-13-1927; 2 pp. 8 pictures). Prof. Kuehn finds these Atlas rock-drawings essentially like those of Upper Egypt, with the like tools, indicating a



homogeneous culture in the two regions, at least 10,000 years ago. (AP dispatches, Cologne, 10-19-1927.) Compare those of the 100 caverns of the Slonta basin, Cyrenaica, (ILN, 12-10-1927).

Of outstanding importance is Dr. Leo Frobenius' discovery in Fezzân (Phazania of Herodotus) along the south slope of the Mourzouk; old places of worship with hundreds of such drawings, dating from Aurignac stages down to 3,000 B.C: more than 2,500 pictographs between Ghât and Mourzouk. Designs found later in the art of the Graeco-Roman period are there; notably the whirling "priestess" or "prophetess," with upraised arms and wide-flying skirts (ILN, 11-12-1932; 11-19-1932; 11-26-1932; total, 10 pages, many pictures). Of ten expeditions, Prof. Frobenius counts this the greatest achievement of his life.

An eleventh expedition Dr. Frobenius made in 1933 to the Owênât Oasis, (Hassanein Bey, above) finding a large stone-quarry that was probably the source of tool-material for the ancient peoples. Two wholly different cultures were found; one that above described, pushing down from the north, and a hitherto unknown younger one that came from the south, with pottery, 6000 to 4000 B.C. Tracing this new culture southward by 44 "factory sites," he reached its center in the Wady Howr in northern Kordofan, with several hundred rock-pictures of much higher standard than those of Fezzan and far more varied scenes; dances, battles, religious ceremonies, family life: certainly connected with the above art and that of Eastern Spain and South Africa. (London Times, 12-28-1933).

South African Petroglyphs must be remembered, because some of them picture animals that became extinct 25,000 to 50,000 years ago. But as not directly in contact with Egyptian frontiers, this footnote of sources is all that can be allowed here. See Herbert Lang, ILN, 4-6-1929, 4-13-1929, 4-20-1929; Frobenius, ILN, 3-1-1930; 8-25-1929; Pretoria White Rhinoceros, 7-14-1928, 8-31-1929; Egyptian influence in Rhodesia, ILN, 12-10-1927; Van Riet Lowe, ILN, 4-29-1933 (4-1/2 pp. with rock-paintings). Where Europe gives one occasional hand-ax, South Africa offers hundreds, lying on the surface.

#### 16. Merimdé Beni-Salamé.

Thus far we have unquestionably seen paleolithic stages of the culture and religious institutions that were dominant in the Western Delta in historic times. We next notice discoveries of the Neolithic or smooth-stone period beginning about 10,000 B.C. A prominent feature is the appearance of pottery. For some decades the view has been dominant that humanity nowhere made pottery before 4000 B.C. But in recent years some eminent archaeologists conclude that pottery appeared in Egypt as early as 6000 B.C.

Following this North African agriculture into the edge of the Delta, we notice Merimdé Beni-Salamé (The "ash-heaps of the Salamé people"), 40 miles northwest of Cairo on the Rosetta side of the Nile. We have apparently an early town or village stage of the same people, and proof of very long occupation of the site, in several successive strata with thin layers of sand between. There are well-defined streets; individual dwellings show cattleyards, charcoal, bone implements, and pits to hold containers and jars. Grain was stored in reed baskets set in such pits; a proof that these people were farmers long before they were potters. These were placed in the middle of the dwelling, near the fire-place. A like culture in the Fayûm groups the storepits in one quarter of the village. (Communal stores?) Triticum dicocum - a species of wheat - was the principal grain. Stores of other foods were in pits plastered with Nile mud. In one such, some hippopotamus bones were found. There were many bones of cattle, sheep and turtles; especially plentiful were the bones of swine. Their pottery and domestic animals remove them considerably from the above more primitive Caspian vegetarians, (Dr. Hans Junker, in F. & F., Feb. 1, 1930).

17. The Vienna Academy of Sciences began the above excavations in 1927-1928. By the spring of 1932 it was clear that the polished stone stage, with very fine pottery was attained by 5000 B.C. There were oval clay huts half sunk in the ground as sleeping places--a practice that links them with the thousands of pit-dwellers still holding the mountain areas in Tripoli. Threshing floors, cornbins, mortars and grinding stones abounded. Human figures of pottery were found. The settlements were large (communal?) farms. The roofed sheds or shelters of the agricultural village were open to the southeast. (Joseph M. Levy, N.Y. Times, 2-13-1932). Thus they faced up their branch of the Nile, with which Osiris was sometimes identified. Consider that the long agricultural



development meant a reliable calendar. And such a calendar was worked out by the Delta culture as early as 4241 B.C. (Breasted, HAE, 34-35). Second, the identification of the Nile with Osiris in some forms of the legend, and the fact that the Osiris-cult originated in, or was imported through the Delta, (HAE, 61) compel the query, Are we not facing an ancient stage of it in these ancient non-Hamitic peoples?

#### 18. Dead as Guardians.

The most important fact of all is that the dead were buried by the huts, with no implements; none were needed in their Hereafter. They continued to be members of the community--members of the family, sharing the family meals. The village itself was a necropole; the ancestor-dead watch over their families. There is no parallel to this burial among the prehistoric Hamitic peoples of the Nile Valley. We find this burial without provision for the future among Aramaic-speaking communities with Osiridean ideas, 4000 years later at Memphis. See Section 163. Is there a definite continuity of the burial custom and a steady development of ideas through the centuries?

#### 19. Not the "Black Land" People.

Little palettes for the spreading of paint show us early stages of the flapper and the lip-stick! There is scholarly agreement that the pottery and artifacts are different from those of Upper Egypt. The student must remember that the Egyptian term Khêmi, "Black Land," which we turn into "Ham" and "Hamitic," meant that lower portion of the Nile Valley which runs through limestone; its decomposition leaves a black alluvium. The Egyptian records always show this Khêmi as distinct from the Delta in people and culture. All Pharaohs were "Lords of the Two Lands"; and "Kings of the South and the North."

It is important that the early agriculture of the Fayyûm alluvium, with its artifact-equipment, as reported by Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Eleanor Gardner (geologists) is in general the same as the Merimê Beni-Salamé; unlike that of Neolithic Hamitic Egypt. (Maurice Pernot, *Revue de Deux Mondes*, June 1931, 557 f). The Lybico-Berber agriculture impinged on the Nile Valley along a wide front. The two cultures will never fuse.

#### 20. Pre-Dynastic Maadi--A Cairo Suburb.

Another site showing a later stage of the same culture has been excavated during three years past at Maadi, a suburb of Cairo. Considered with the Palaeolithic strata at the Abbassieh suburb, in Sec. 7, it appears that the Cairo area has been strategically important through many geologic ages. As no copper is reported by the explorers, the finds must be 4000 B.C. and earlier. (Mr. Levy writes "at least 3500 B.C.")

Professor Oswald Menghin and Mustafa Amer, for the Egyptian University, report the first discovery of a square hut foundation, thought to be the original of the rectangle hieroglyph for "house." But no hieroglyphs were unearthed; another proof of early date. Some fragments of sun-dried bricks were found; some well-constructed hearths, a furnace or pottery kiln? (no trace of smelting). No graves found yet, but eleven burials of babies in pots or virgin soil. One burial-pot had eye-holes--the oldest example of furnishing a "coffin" with eyes--common enough in later times. There were hundreds of flints of exquisite workmanship; beads of quartz, limestone alabaster, carnelian, yellow rock crystal, azurite; pierced shells, and snails of different species (cf. Sec. 13). And the first ox-horn comb ever discovered! with many bone implements.

Pottery was surprising. A hoard of seven pots cut out of basalt, with overhanging rims and limestone slab-covers was found in one cellar-pit. Several types supposed to represent different periods were here found to be contemporaneous, and proved commerce. It is the largest find of such hitherto made in Egypt. A fine alabaster vase was found in the same hole; elsewhere two other basalt vases and one of gray limestone colored red to resemble pottery.

One hundred complete pottery vases, many of entirely new types, were found. Their appearance shows at once their non-Egyptian character; some resemble a later Syrian type.



No complete painted pot was recovered, but a large number of painted sherds; these again entirely different from all the painted wares of Egypt. Their origin and connections are as yet unknown.

As a whole, this predynastic, pre-copper settlement was not Hamitic Egyptian and had commercial contacts that we cannot yet name (Joseph M. Levy, N.Y. Times, 9-17-1933).

## 21. Survival of this Mediterranean Stock.

Of this non-Semitic, non-Hamitic people, developing through tens of thousands of years in the Barbary states and the Delta, Burckhardt 120 years ago observed that the somatic type familiar in the Delta was still to be seen in all western Palestine, particularly among the coast-peoples. Independent of this, Sir Arthur Keith, reviewing the recent archaeological discoveries to the Royal College of Surgeons, said that the excavations on Mt. Carmel showed that "the early Palestinians had short faces and long heads, very different from their tall strong Cromagnon contemporaries in France. Their faces were short and their noses low-bridged and flat (the most common modern "Berber" type, Ratzel, History of Mankind) with a distinct suggestion of African origin, but in no sense negroes. The proportions of their limbs were European, not negroid. Nor in shape of skull were they negroid, only in conformation of nose and face. Nor did there seem to have been, with the succession of cultures in Palestine, any decided change in race. The same small people appear to persist in the later cave-periods. Where the records of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Crete leave off, those of Palestine begin, and carry human history there into a very remote past. In Biblical times Palestine was a pawn of her mighty neighbors; but these recent researches reveal her, even in Pleistocene times, as the scene of contending northern and southern forms of culture." (Pathfinder, 6-7-1930, p. 14, and N.Y. Times, 8-14-1932. On persistence of the Berber, compare Bodley, Algeria from Within, pp. 35-39, 239, 242.)

Since above, preliminary report has been made on the skeletons of fifty persons found in an Algerian cave, evidently trapped by a land-slide that blocked its mouth. The cave, Afalou Bou Rhummel, was excavated in 1928-29. The culture stage proved to Capsian or Aurignac. Long skulls and medium skulls were in about equal numbers, very few broad heads. (About the same proportion in modern Berbers). Short stout limb-bones with muscular attachments strongly marked indicated great strength; height below medium. Orbital ridges much more prominent than in modern men. MM. Boule and Vallois think a new type; yet resemble some skulls found in the snail-heaps at Mechta el-Arbi; and propose the name "Mechta Race." (SNL, 9-3-1932). These cave-people had the same custom of knocking out the front teeth that Miss Garrod found in the Natuf caves in Palestine.

## 22. Mediterranean Agricultural Rituals.

Here read Olmstead, Chapter II, observing that he has not availed himself of the foregoing information. But he has recognized that certain religious institutions arose among prehistoric "non-Semitic" agriculturists, as suggested in Section 29 of the Minoan-Philistine outlines. All that Olmstead presents is broadly true of Egyptian or old Berber peasant-religion. Greek tradition traces important agricultural rituals like the Thesmophoria to the Delta of Egypt (Herodotus 2:17; Clement of Alexandria, ANF, 2:175+431; Encyc. Brit.). Lev. 23:43 recognizes an Egyptian Delta origin: "I was making the Beni-Israel lodge in booths, when I brought them out of Egypt." Palestine had Anat as "Queen of Heaven": North-Africa had Tanit; their functions were similar. And both Tanit and Anat were imported into Egypt. Cf. remark of L. E. Binns in Section 7 of Minoan-Philistine Outlines.

## 23. The Nakada Discoveries.

In this prehistoric Mediterranean Berber stock, from whom rose the historic "Libyan" Dynasties of Egypt, scholars do not recognize any of the predynastic peasantry of the middle Nile, among whom the historic First Dynasty appeared about 3400 B.C. (Breasted). But in 1894-95, Petrie found at Nakada, 30 miles north of Luxor (Thebes), 428 miles from Cairo, what he thought was an invading race that overthrew the 6th Dynasty about 2475 B.C. Petrie thought them cannibalistic because of the cutting of the flesh from the bones of their dead, in some burials, and that they had expelled the Egyptian popula-





tions from 100 miles of the Nile Valley, from Gebelen to Abydos. Their later burial of the dead differed from any found elsewhere in Egypt. They buried in square pits; the corpse was laid on the left side, knees drawn up to chin, head to the south facing west. A regular ceremonial system in these interments shows well-defined ideas concerning the future life.

#### 24. Nakada proves old Hamitic.

But a more extended exploration by M. de Morgan in 1907 showed that Petrie's "new invading race" was the very oldest race in the neolithic culture of the Nile; different in physique, manners and customs and industries from the people who produced the first historic Pharaohs. (This latter people were "a late invading people.") This Nakada site eventually showed three strata; a long-continued development on one site; and the race was in the Nile Valley many thousand years before Menes arose. (Budge, The Nile, 144; Knight, p. 25). Their artifacts proved to be an advanced stage of the paleoliths found in the solidified gravels 70 to 90 feet above the present Nile-level (See Section 6). Breasted has estimated the date of those gravel-beaches at 150,000 years ago. And again the student is reminded that Winifred S. Blackman's Fellahin of Upper Egyptian finds many customs and superstitions not derived from any immigrant culture, but from a prehistoric ancestry.

#### 25. Badarian Earlier than Nakada.

A remarkable early culture was recently found on the middle Nile, about 25 miles above Assiut, 275 miles above Cairo, 125 miles northwest of ancient Thebes. Petrie thought it an invading culture, driven from the Caucasus by the last glacial advance, 10,000-12,000 years ago, because this Badarian people had a northern variety of wheat, unlike that now in Egypt, and still grown in the Caucasus. Then barley was introduced, and the cultivation of this ancient wheat ceased. But "black barley" is proven by the later excavations at Kish to have been native in the ancient Hurrian settlements along the Lower Euphrates. But the Hurri, identified in the cuneiform inscriptions only within the last ten years, are still found in the Caucasus and Kurdish and Armenian mountains. (See LTM, first 4 plates). But no such physical type remains among the numerous people of the Caucasus. The theory of an interchange of populations has no evidence in its favor. (ILN, 7-25-1925; Peasants and Potters, pp. 53-61).

#### 26. The Tasian a Pre-Badarian.

Then in 1928 Guy Brunton excavated at Mostagedda, near El-Bedari, obtaining a large collection of "sub-Badarian" pottery, (black and red polished ware, with beakers, and incised designs, flint and bone implements; shell, bone, faience and stone beads of various types). The Badari pottery he found like that of early Upper Nubia. The natural inference would be that the same Hamitic culture probably spread all along the Nile, but that it came from the direction of Nubia; for the marvelously beautiful rippled pottery of El-Bedari has no ancestral forms on that site. The first settlers there brought their beautiful pottery with them. Brunton dates the Badarian tentatively at "5000 B.C.--a date rather subsequent to 6000 B.C." (Antiquity, 1929, p. 460) Albright in a private note practically concurs, dating the later Badarian as extending from about 5000 B.C. to 4000 B.C. or a little later. At the head of Section 15 was noted the fact that pottery is believed to have appeared in some places as early as 6000 B.C.; e.g. Duncan, p. 46; or even 7000 B.C., p. 62-65. (Duncan does not separate Badarian from Nakadan. The Tasian finds he pronounced older than Badarian, with very different skulls, approximately Capsian. (British Museum Quarterly, June, 1930).

#### 27. Features of the Badarian Stage: Houses.

From the volume published by Guy Brunton and Miss G. Ca'lon-Thompson (Badarian Civilization, London, 1928) a few important salient facts are presented.

The Badarian strip was about six miles long, 80 to 90 yards wide at the foot of the limestone cliffs; on the detritus elevation produced by the weathering and crumbling of the limestone face, between the cliff and the cultivated ground. A great ceme-



tery for the strip, was found in the third season, searching the strip ten miles south to Qau. Thus the settlers did not have river-villages of the modern type, but lived above the reach of high water, there being no effort yet to canal or to control the Nile. Such effort begins in the subsequent Middle Naqada, or Gerzean period (c. 4000 B.C.?) Much of the land to the main stream was marshy.

No trace of house-walls of any kind was found, nor any house-pits. Clearly a reed wind-screen, or a thatch roof on poles, like East Texas Indians, or shelters of mat screens were their protection. The burial of the dead with screen mats suggests such as the ordinary house. Double skin robes to sleep in (cf. Ex. 22:26 f.) resulted from the lack of tight closed houses. All shows that these people had not come from a house-building region.

But the next stage, at Hemamieh, shows circular mud foundations, probably bases for a wattle-wall; also pit-foundations, 1-1/2 to 2-3/4 feet deep; so common in our Indian ruins in the southwest. These had posts for screens, on the northwest side, while the later predynastic stage at Naqada (Section 22) and Mahasna were builders of wattle-and-daub, well-plastered huts, with log-post doorways. The pit-floors at Hemamieh were concave, mud-plastered; and in some places the edge of the plaster floor was curved up into the beginning of a wall.

## 28. Badarian Burial Customs.

Badarian graves were all dug in soft sandy gravel or limestone detritus, roughly oval, sides sloping toward bottom, never any shelf or recess made for bodies. Matting on sides, and sticks, suggest a "walled house" in some graves, then covered with earth. Graves vary from 42 to 53 inches long. Bodies generally lay on left side, head to south, facing west. Of fifteen percent with heads to north, these lay on right side so as to still face the west. Now as the Badarian cemetery was east of the settlement, were the ancestor-dead watching and guarding their folk? Or were they facing the western sun?

The later Naqada folks (Section 22) were placed in the same position, but the Naqada cemeteries were south of the settlement. In both periods the thighs were usually drawn up to an angle of sixty degrees with the spine, frequently at right angles--occasionally 145 degrees--with the hands before the face, an attitude of comfortable sleep. But there is no sign of any effort at preservation of the body, or of dismemberment, as at the later Naqada. The comparatively dry soil results in the skin being well preserved in a few instances. Woven material was wrapped around the body--or skins; mattings were outside these. The skins were usually goat, sometimes gazelle--the hairy side next the body. No wrapping was about the head, save in seven cases. Some fine tanned black skins were found; and pieces of sewn skin-robes. There were no coffins, either wood or clay. There were no cases of multiple burial. Men sometimes grouped in an area to themselves, women were not.

## 29. Badarian Prototypes of Egyptian Gods.

Of profound significance were the burials of animals in certain selected areas in the cemetery. With as much care as human beings. Dogs, jackals, oxen, sheep, and goats were wrapped in matting, or even in linen, and solemnly buried. The same custom is found in later Nubia. It is the prototype of the embalmed animals so familiar in historic Egypt. The "oracle-ox of the Ancestors," still known among African tribes, became the Apis-bull, embalmed as well as buried; and the friendly jackal appears as the jackal-headed Anubis, guide of the souls of the dead; the sacred goat survives as the oracle-goat of Mendes, denounced by the OT prophets and in the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles as one of the pagan institutions accepted by Israel. (Compare the ibex, in Minoan Outlines, Section III). The dogs may be related to the "dog" repudiated in Deut. 23:19, and the dogs found in Phoenician inscriptions and Cypriote sculptures and in the recently discovered Beth-Shean Stele to have had at least a guardian-place in the temples. Nothing like this has been found in the Mediterranean-Berber areas, either in North Africa or Palestine. At this point the Mediterranean and Hamitic cultures will not fuse.



### 30. Badarian Physical Type.

The hair varied from brown to black. Ten had straight hair, 33 wavy, six curly; eleven were gray with age. There was no case of beard or moustache found. One woman wore curly "bangs." A few were only five feet tall, some over six. They were usually slender. A strong muscular build was the exception. But a few figurines found portray very different female types. The steatopygous form with wide shallow pubic triangle was known to them.

Miss Brenda Stoessiger, making complete study of sixty Badarian skulls (Biometrika, XIX, pp. 110-150) finds them smooth, fragile, feminine in type, with teeth well preserved, except in case of the aged. The general type is like the modern Upper-Egyptian; it seems a most primitive form of that series. It is more prognathous than the much later Naqada, but is not at all negroid; it is not like the Abyssinians, nor the Sardinians, who most resemble the Naqada stage. In short, not like any Mediterranean or negro type. In length and narrowness, it is very like the Dravidian, of South India. Comparing early historic Egyptians with early Dravidian, the Badarian is as close to one as to the other, suggesting the possibility of a fellow-branch of some Asiatic center. Resemblances in later times to western or southern types must be due to the cultures invading Egypt from the south or west.

### 31. Badarian Commerce and Spread.

The Badarian did not have the curved flint-edged sickles used by the Palestinian from Mesolithic times. He used a beautiful, straight, saw-edged knife. Nor had he the Palestinian mortars or grain-grinders. It is suspected that he was still eating porridge or boiled grain, like our North American Indians. He had clay grain-bins. His basketry technique survives in many modern Egyptian baskets. The wealth of very beautiful arrow-forms suggests that he depended much upon game; but no bows and fish-hooks have been found yet. (Fish are caught all along the Nile with spears, nets, weirs, and traps.) But they caught the huge Nile perch. For the wealth of pottery and personal ornamentation, the volume upon Badarian Civilization must be read. But beads of carnelian, red or green jasper, pink-and-white banded limestones, white steatite, and glazed bluish green; black and grey soapstones, turquoise; beautifully carved ivories; various shells from the Red Sea; pine, cedar and cypress and juniper woods from the Lebanon coasts--all these show regular contacts with distant points. The graves show an abundance of such provision for the hereafter.

Especially does possession of the ox point to early far-reaching contacts. Our domestic ox came west from central Asia through Asia Minor; the sacred humped ox or Zebu of India, now wide-spread in Africa, came by Indian Ocean coastal routes to the mouth of the Red Sea. We do not know how early, but here in Central Egypt, in the Badarian period, is the Asiatic ox.

### 32. Badarian Push Westward.

Miss Caton-Thompson, in researches still going on, finds the Badarian culture strewn over the surface of the desert clear to the Kharga Oasis, (175 miles long from north to south, and 125-150 miles west of the Nile, from Karnak to Dendur). It seems to establish the fact of a uniform culture over all the area, in Neolithic times. (cf. JRAS, April 1930, p. 403f.) There is no evidence of displacement of this long-developing Badarian culture by any cataclysmic invasion. But political hegemony during this long period we do not know.

### 33. The Kharga Fossil Springs.

Miss Caton-Thompson found that while the whole oasis area of 1158 square miles has now only 8,000 population, with less than one percent of the land cultivated, yet the whole region, clear to the Nile, had been inhabited in the well-watered Paleolithic times. There are great stretches of Neolithic flint-mine workings along the edge of the Kharga scarp for many miles. The fertile spots are around springs, still flowing after many thousands of years. They have heaped up around themselves deposits of travertine, clays, or silts, in small knolls, after the fashion of geysers. Imbedded



in these are the artifacts of earlier men, clear back to Mousterian types of "Neanderthal Man" times.

It is important that the older artifacts are of the Tunisian-Algerian or "Proto-Berber" type, not of the early Hamitic, found in the terrace-beaches of the Nile. But the surface artifacts show those of Fayyum agricultural times mixed with Badarian. Miss Caton-Thompson recognizes the early Fayyum organized agriculture as exotic, but does not mention its Mediterranean coast connections. The sum is that the Hamitic, in its Badarian agricultural stages, is shown spreading western into Kharga, earlier held by the Tunisian-Algerian Mediterranean folk. It means mingling; it may have meant some conquest. (London Times, 4-13-1931; ILN, 5-2-1931; N.Y. American, 11-19-1933).

### 34. Badarian at Armant.

Since the above discoveries the Egyptian Exploration Fund in 1931-1932 found the same culture at Armant, 200 miles south of Beddri. To the sacred animals in Section 29 should be added the hippopotamus. Stone amulets of it were found, a ring-eyelid on the back, for suspension from a cord. These are the earliest known. There were slate palle-ettes of turtle-outline. And instead of buried bulls there were much-stylized clay models of bulls, parallel to the hippopotamus amulets. Strange, to find these remnants of the "dawn" of a culture within a mile of the last stand of the Bukh6-bull Cult!

There were earlier "stoneware" jars than any yet found; the same beautiful thin rippled pottery; and handbaked clay ware painted to resemble porphyry! and alabaster jars. No copper, but beautiful flint artifacts, including the same type of adzes that Miss Caton-Thompson found in the Kharga oasis. What is beneath the surface is not yet reported.

✓ In later predynastic cemeteries were found woven-twist beds, such as are used by modern peasantry. But the predynastics had linen sheets! And three pieces of linen, stuccoed with white plaster, painted with curious designs, were probably provincial standards. (ILN, 8-12-1933).

The Badarian is thus shown to be spread over a very wide area in several consecutive strata. The succeeding Naqada is also found in earlier and later strata, distinguished by the names of places where explored. The older Naqada I, or "Amratian," shows no outside or foreign influence; Naqada II, or "Gerzean," shows pottery from Palestine, and the beginning of control and distribution of the waters of the Nile. Naqada III, or "Semainean" shows much exchange with Palestine, North Syria, and Mesopotamia.

### 35. "Dynastic" and "Predynastic"-- Their Meaning.

Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283-247 B.C.), compiled a list of Egyptian kings, which has been lost. One of the extant versions gives 561 kings who reigned 5,524 years. Another has 361 kings who reigned 4480 (?) years. (Hall, 271). He divided his kings into thirty Dynasties, beginning with "Menes." Then the Royal Papyrus of Turin, compiled about 1500 B.C., 1200 years before Manetho, contained over 300 names, but when bought by the King of Sardinia in 1818, it arrived shattered to pieces; and early efforts to piece it together brought the scathing ridicule of scholars (Knight, 16). In recent years the scholarship and skill of Ibscher have gained respect and approval. A tablet made for Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) contains 76 names and is known as the Tablet of Abydos. Another Tablet of Abydos was made for Seti's son Rameses II. And the Tablet of Saqqarah contains 50 names.

Now earlier modern historians, knowing only Manetho, have fixed upon us a chronological scheme that dates by dynasties from the accession of Manetho's "Menes." So all earlier kings and cultures discovered by modern research we call "Predynastic." And chief among these new sources of information is the shattered Palermo Stele.

### 36. What Was the Date of Menes?

The Manetho versions differ by about 1100 years; the longest would put Menes about 5800 B.C. So Egyptologists deal with an Egyptian scheme of chronology; that of dating the new year from the day Sirius, Egyptian Sothis, rose at sun-rise; July 19





or 20. But as they miscalculated the length of the solar year by one-fourth of a day, in four years the rising of Sothis would move one day further from its assumed coincidence with sunrise; to complete the circle of 365 days would take 1460 years--which we call the Sothic cycle. Now as there is Egyptian evidence of dating from a "Sothic sunrise" in 4241 B.C. there has resulted a "long" and a "short" dynastic chronology: one putting Menes 4241 B.C. or even 5800 B.C., the other, Erman and Breasted, assume Menes about 3400 B.C. We have certain evidence from Babylonian Synchronisms that the XVIIIth Dynasty, expelling the Hyksos, began about 1580 B.C. Before that has been the field of debate. (HAE, p. 23 ff; Barton, pp. 25-27; Knight, 16-18; Hall, 268-273).

### 37. The Predynastic Kings.

There is another solution of the puzzle: Manetho's long period must have included kings that he did not include in his thirty dynasties. In that case we might have a folk-tradition of a line of kings back to near 5800 B.C. But we need not put either Menes or the beginning of the Sothic calendar at that date.

From the famous shattered Palermo Stele, containing annals of kings down to the Fifth Dynasty, a few names have been known as king of Lower Egypt only: Sekha, Hsekiu, Tau, Thesh, Nehab, Uadj-na'r, Mekha (Hall, 277). Other names discovered by Petrie at Abydos have been suspected to be kings of Neolithic Upper Egypt: Tcheser, De, Ro, Ka, Sma. It has not been proven (Knight, 36).

But Breasted has in recent years made a minute study of the almost effaced Palermo fragments and the related Cairo fragments. The Palermo and the largest Cairo contained a list of predynastic kings before the beginning of the dynastic list. An exhaustive study of the ten royal figures in the top row of the Cairo proved seven were the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. <sup>16</sup> The heads of the other three are broken. That means a union of Upper and Lower Egypt, long before Menes. But in the same row at some distance to the right is a group of thirteen kings, of whom at least nine wear the red crown of Lower Egypt only. <sup>17</sup>

Further to the right is another section of Row I, illegible, followed by more kings of Lower Egypt; then more kings of united Egypt. Since the annals were compiled in the Fifth Dynasty, many centuries after the dominance of Upper Egypt had become an established tradition, Breasted concludes that the damaged section must have been a further acknowledgment of ancient kings of Lower Egypt. If the damaged lists once filled the whole row, they were long.

On the Palermo Stele, the title-band over the inscriptions in Row I has been defaced. We have probably lost valuable information concerning the origin and identity of the ancient dynasty or dynasties that ruled United Egypt long before Menes. (Breasted: Predynastic Union of Egypt, 1930).

### 38. The Early Mediterranean-Delta Supremacy.

The above facts harmonize with the archaeological evidence which we have considered, showing that the Mediterranean culture reaching into the western Delta developed much earlier than the Hamitic culture of the marsh-lands of the Middle Nile. One result would be an early sea-trade; and exchanges of wares between Egypt and Crete suggest such traffic when the Middle Nile was still in the Badarian stage. Newberry has observed that of 300 Nile boats painted upon the Nakada predynastic pottery, 222 bear standards originating in the Western Delta. The same 500 years preceding Menes saw Nile agriculture change from the hoe to the plough, which means the rapid increase of a portable, divisible, exchangeable commodity. The Western Delta had become a great exporter of grain; that meant seaports and many foreign vessels and their wares. And when the Hamite of the Middle Nile found that he could enrich and equip himself by growing surplus grain, he advanced more rapidly. In fact, farmer-colonies from the Delta enlarging their lands available for commercial grain, probably taught the backward Hamites the lesson.

The origins of writing and the incoming of metal belong somewhere in that "predynastic" Delta period. The Sothic calendar came from the same Delta Mediterranean folk; some royal authority made it the state calendar as early as 4241 B.C. Doubtless city-calendars or nome-calendars long preceded it; Greece we know never got to a universal



calendar for all Greek states. Some sort of consolidated Delta power then made the Sothic calendar universal. (Breasted, op. cit.).

### 39. How Long the Predynastic Delta Dominance?

Synchronisms have made it impossible to push the traditional Menes back a thousand years or more. But it is not necessary to do that, in order to have a highly organized political Lower Egypt as early as 4500 to 5000 B.C. In the damaged Cairo Stele, the left hand portion of the top row, containing the names of kings of the United Egypt, is long enough to contain over fifty royal names: at fifteen years average there would be 800 years of United Egypt before Menes (3400 B.C.), taking us back to the 43d century B.C. And the right hand would contain a long line of the two earlier separate dynasties of Upper and Lower Egypt, a part of which remains upon the Palermo Stele; these would be contemporary. If the United Egypt sovereigns reached far back to the early Nakada times, then the preceding lines of separate rulers reached far into Badarian times; that it reached back to 5000 B.C. is quite possible. We have for this conclusive inscriptional material from the time of the Fifth Dynasty (2750-2625 B.C.) even though nearly all the names are now lost. (Breasted, op. cit.) Compare the fact that ten city-dynasties ruled in Lower Babylonia during this predynastic period. Three of them had made Kish the greatest city of the ancient world, before the days of Menes.

As for recovering the records by excavations in the Delta, it is now familiar (from the Nilometer) that silt has been deposited along the Middle and Lower Nile--at the rate of six inches per century. At the same rate in the Delta, cultures of 5000 B.C. would now lie beneath 35 feet of alluvium. Some recovery is possible, if the region has not at the same time been sinking below sea level.

### 40. Menes not a Founder, but a Revolutionist.

It is now familiar that the legendary Menes is a conflation of at least three kings whose revolt gave the hegemony to the Hamitic South. These were Ip, "The Scorpion," and Na'rmer, or Na'rmarza, and 'Ahai, ("Fighter"). For some time Mené ("Firm") has been regarded as a throne name of 'Ahai, and scholars have written of "Aha-Mené". But now it is clear that NARMER was the most important of the three, as his monuments, including a famous slate palette, have been found at Hierakonpolis, the modern Kom el-Ahmar, 502 miles above Cairo. 'AHAI'S tomb was found in 1897, at Nakada, and various objects from it are in the British Museum. Third of the revolutionists, he may have been the first actually to rule over Lower Egypt. The conflation here stated is one result of the fact that we now have monuments and inscriptions of more historical First Dynasty kings than are mentioned in Manetho and other lists (Hall, 279).

### 41. The Pre-Dynastic Commerce of the Delta.

'Ahai's tomb at Nakada contained obsidian vases and portrayals of his ships for maritime commerce. Now the obsidian came from the volcanic isle of Santorin, in the Aegean. But graves on Mount Ophel, at Jerusalem, have also yielded pottery like that found in his tomb; showing 'Ahai's succession to a trade both inland and maritime. Then in First Dynasty royal graves of Djer, Den Semte, and Semerkhet at Abydos were vases of the same type that Sahu Ra of the Fifth Dynasty, 500 years later, announces in his mortuary chapel as being "from Lebanon"--one-handled, of yellowish clay, with a white wash. Then Borchardt shows that the above Djer, (Atoti, Athothis) invaded Asia; how far we do not yet know. All three have left portrayals of their slaying Asiatics, and Semerkhet lets us know that there were mines in Sinai then, and that he visited them. Hall observes that Den Semti the fifth king of this series, was the first to actually assume the Nsút-Biât or "lily and hornet" insignia announcing him as "king of the South and the North." In this combination the "South" regularly has the precedence.

These data are scanty, but definite. The South was trying to take the control in a political-commercial leadership long held by the Delta, and extending into Palestine.

### 42. Whence This South-Egypt Hegemony?

Scholars have recognized for a generation that this political awakening among the



Hamites is not of Hamitic origin. Discoveries in the Thebaid and along south Arabian coasts during the last twenty years show us a culture coming from the highlands of Elam, along the Hamite coasts of South Arabia; probably stimulating the early Hamitic development there. Its affinities are with the oldest culture found at Susa and other Persian highland points, and provisionally known as "Susa I." Its art and pottery have been traced all the way (Frankfort, Early Studies). It is to be emphasized that this culture from the Persian Uplands has no connection with anything "Semitic," Sumerian, or "Babylonian." Such old speculations collected by Knight (28-36) are from "Pan-Babylonists," and are to be totally rejected.

The famous Jebel El-Arak flint knife, with carved ivory handle, differs from five others known in portraying scenes of battle and hunt. The invading aggressors, short-haired, nude, shaven-headed recall Sumerian portrayals. Their ships are like those portrayed on pottery from Tellah and Susa; the Susa fragment found at a depth of eighteen feet in a stratum of relatively early pottery. The defending long-haired Egyptians have papyrus boats. The portrayal certainly dates early in predynastic times. (T. G. Allen, AJSL, Oct. 1917, p. 79; Contenau, Revue d'Assyriologie, 1932; "Certainly proto-Elamite").

We can but recognize that while the Mediterranean culture of the Delta was exposed to influences, culture, and settlements coming by sea to its extensive seafront, the Thebaid was exposed to commercial adventurers coming along the South Arabian Coasts to the Red sea port of Koser, five days march across the desert to Kufi, Koptos (whence "Coptic") on the eastern bend of the Nile. To these immigrants the Hamitic Thebaid probably owes its first lessons in brick-making, picture-writing, and the drainage, ditching, and cultivating of the marsh-lands of the Nile. (Hall, 276). The process may have begun as early as 6,000 B.C. We shall yet recover many details.

#### 43. Religious Invasion of the North by Second Dynasty.

Herodotus has Menes as the founder of Memphis (Men-Nofer, "White Wall"; the Noph of the OT). Egyptian tradition made Andjab or Merpeba, sixth king of the First Dynasty its founder. But The White Wall seems predynastic; it appears that political considerations compelled Merpeba to recognize its importance. (Hall, 284) It seems that the powerful predynastic Sun-Cult at Heliopolis (On of the OT) north of Cairo had been recognized as a political necessity; a bequest from the long dominance of the north in a united Egypt. The first king of the Second or Thinite Dynasty calls himself Hetep-Sekhemui, "Satisfaction of the Two Powers." The second one, Ra'-Neb, or Kakau undertook to further satisfaction by planting the cult of the Apis-bull at Memphis and the Mnevis-bull at Heliopolis, and the Goat-cult in Mendes. Then came Sekhem-ib, who had to placate the sensibilities of the northern Set-cult by assuming a name as representative of Set: Peribsen. Then under the shadowy Enneter, Manetho says it was decreed that women could enjoy royal privileges and receive royal honours. But this again seems recognition of the matriarchal principles still familiar among modern Berbers. Of the policy of Send, Kara, Nefer-ka-Ra', Nefer-ka-sokari, and Hetchefâ, we have no information. But the later ones must have lost the north, for the first king of the Third Dynasty, a southerner named Besh, Behi or Djaidjai, assumes the name Kha-Sekhem, "Appearance of the Two Powers," but when he gains the north he becomes Kha-Sekh-emui, "Appearance of the Two Powers," and establishes himself at Memphis (Hall, 286). The student should not understand his title to mean "Representative of the Two Powers," for Egyptian government was not "representative" in our sense. Rather was the king "manifestation" of or "Embodiment" of the Two Powers, just as he was officially the embodiment of some god.

But this invasion of Delta territory by the Hamitic and negroid animal-cults did not mean their gaining official recognition in the royal titles. To the world at large, the Pharaoh was a sungod, and was so addressed, whether the sungod was called Horus, Ra', Atum, Aten, Amen-Ra. Egyptian official dominance of foreign lands did not necessarily carry the cult of a host of Hamitic animal-godlings. But it carried a cult of the Pharaoh.

#### 44. Second Dynasty Influence Abroad.

Montet's excavations at Gebal-Byblos since 1922 have yielded a succession of stone vases of Kha-Sekhem. Merpeba has left an inscription claiming a raid of Sinai--then



with his enlarged title Kha-Sekhemui left inscriptions at Gebal. A "Scribe of the Royal Carpenters" did also. Then the grave of Kha-Sekhemui yielded "red gold" ornaments. A.R. Burn (p. 73) writes that this means antimoniate of gold. Now the two metals combine only in the presence of tellurium, and all three metals occur only in Transylvania. So Egypt had trade relations with the Middle Danube, probably through her ancient Cretan connections. The trade-posts were on the sea of Marmora and the Black Sea: Odessos, Salmydessos, Perinthos, Apsinthioi, etc.

The dominance of Egyptian motifs in Minoan art from the earliest times is probably explained by Section 117 in Minoan outlines. The Double-Axe people expelled from the Tall Arpachiyah site before 4000 B.C. probably settled along the Delta coasts and Cretan coasts at the same time, taking early lessons in Delta Mediterranean art.

#### 45. Predynastic Contacts with Minoan Culture.

Recent discoveries in Egypt and Crete show that the Minoan-Aegean civilization and that of Crete were exchanging wares as early as 4000 B.C. The above paragraph suggests that the influences should be mutual. The Minoan Double-Axe is found as a symbol in Egypt as early as the First Dynasty, at Kom El-Ahmar, 502 miles above Cairo, some distance south of the Thebaid. Graves of the First Dynasty at Abydos have yielded vases considered Cretan importations, lying immediately upon Neolithic strata. By the time of the Fifth Dynasty there is a "Khet-priest of the Double-Axe" (Newberry). Pendlebury records several predynastic Egyptian horn-blende porphyry bowls found at Knossos in Crete, and also a diorite mace-head. Predynastic ivories and other objects have been found in the Messara Plain in South Crete, near Phaistos. Pendlebury observes that such cultural development certainly appeared in south Crete much earlier than it did in the north. (Aegyptiaca, 1930; pp. XVII, 3, 5, 21, 24, 34, 35) Predynastic objects appear in the north when Knossos is yet in the Stone Age. These facts would support the above suggestion that the Double-Axe people expelled from the Tall Arpachiyah region eventually reached Crete by way of the Delta coasts, not from any Asia Minor coasts. The coasts of the Mediterranean are dotted with Egyptian trading posts. Commerce with the Caucasus and the regions at the head of the Persian Gulf continues. Plano-convex lenses have been found in Egypt that show the use of magnifying glasses before 3,400 B.C. (AJA, 1928, pp. 116, 502. The earliest found in Crete so far are about 2,000 years later.) Dr. Breasted challenges this. A supposed Assyrian lens has been pronounced impossible. But I have read more than a score of tiny cuneiform tablets, date 2000-2500 B.C., some written sixteen lines to the inch! impossible to read without a magnifier. And the early Bronze period at Kir-yath-sepher of Judg. 1:11 shows beautiful cylinder seals engraved with Egyptian and Babylonian figures so minute that strong magnifying glasses are needed to read them. The engravers must have needed such. (Kyle, N.Y. Times, 8-25-1932).

#### 46. The Predynastic Period in Asia Minor.

In Asia Minor at this early time is a mingling of non-Semitic peoples, provisionally included in the Greek term "Anatolian" ("easterners"). The Mediterranean coast-peoples of 4000 B.C. are dimly seen as yet. In the great bend of the Halys (now Kizil Irmak, "Red River") is a people that we may call proto-Hittite. Excavations at Alishar Hüyük have discovered 23 successive strata, each of a different culture; and reaching back, it is thought, to 12,000 B.C. In the Halys bend developed the political powers later called "Hittite." We are to recognize that this is but a geographical-political term that does not tell us of the race or culture dominant in any period mentioned. Neither is the term "Syrian" so often used by scholars anything more than a regional expression. Georgians and related peoples are along the southern coast of the eastern Black Sea, in the Caucasus, and mountains to the south, considered aboriginal. Along the Aegean coasts, 4000 B.C., the Greek has not yet appeared; he is still 2,000 years in the future. An Indo-Germanic people from Europe will come into the Hittite area far in the future, and establish the empire whose records we are now reading as "Hittite" (2400-1100 B.C.). The founders of the prehistoric settlement that became the Hittite capital may have been the Hurri, whose stations are known at various points in Eastern Asia Minor, Persia, and lower Mesopotamia; in Hyksos times they will become a dominant element in parts of Palestine.

We cannot follow up these. We are merely to recognize that in the long struggle





to dominate Palestine Egypt contended with various cultures to the north.

#### 47. The Sumerian Zenith Predynastic.

The Sumerian culture (succeeding the pre-diluvian Hurrian) was at its zenith; its sea-trade was bringing teak-wood and cotton manufactures from India; its overland trade through Southern Persia brought lapis-lazuli from the Pamirs; copper came from southeast Arabia and the Caucasus; silver from Cilicia and gold from the region of the far later Antioch; other wares from the region of Astrabad, southeast of the Caspian. (Wodley, 45 ff.) Its art was at its zenith, 3500 B.C., showing many centuries of growth and experience. The inscriptions of Gudea, 1,000 years later, show that he had important trade with powerful cities in Bashan; but he shows us no military occupation of the region. The Sumerians had a strong fortress at Katna, south of Aleppo, to protect their trade with their Mediterranean port, Amurru ("Westport"). This was probably their western frontier-post, and their point of exchange with Egypt; for excavations show that the Sumerians never pushed south into Palestine. It is here in the Upper Orontes Valley that their military advance is stopped. Between Katna and the Lebanon - Mediterranean coasts, Egypt was a chief factor in the religious history of the world, giving us eventually the word "Bible" from its papyrus through Byblos.

#### 47-b. Why no Correspondence between Egypt and the Lower Euphrates?

The modern scholar is sure there was. Our long-popular assumption of no cultures and no interchange of cultures in the predynastic days has been our way of trying to sweep our ignorance under the bed. The above paragraph shows the necessity of some well-understood trade-symbols and account-keeping at least as early as 4000 B.C. And Langdon has found at Kish and Jemdet Nasr tablets so old that the writing is completely pictorial; there is no conventionalizing into wedge-lines, which we call cuneiform. The like has been found at Antediluvian Fara. Now Egyptian records begin with the pictorial, yet are considered to have begun with the advent of pictographers from the Lower Euphrates (Section 42). And in Section 39 we saw that the predynastic Egyptian had king-lists reaching back to near 5000 B.C. Comparing with above Sumerian commerce, we can be confident that there was much predynastic diplomatic and commercial correspondence, but that it is lost to us. Egyptian papyri would immediately perish in the Euphrates alluvium.

#### 48. But was Egypt meeting these powerful rivals by controlling Palestine, to maintain her trade with all Asia Minor and the Caucasus?

We have at once to consider the name Kpna (Kupna?) often occurring in the Egyptian records. The OT calls the same town Gebal; the Greeks called it Byblós (whence Biblia, Bible). Egypt reached this coast centuries before any Semitic-speaking people did (Tyrian tradition claims their ancestors arrived on the coast overland, about 2750 B.C.). Hence Kupna must be an old non-Semitic name, which the Egyptians never discarded. Ship-building at Kupna was a leading early industry; so seagoing vessels were kupna in the time of the Old Kingdom, as English speak of an "East-Indiaman." Three thousand years later Greeks had the "Gebal-ship," Gaulos, "galley."

#### 49. Who are the Fenkhu?

The assumption that the "Phoenicians" of classic writers were along the Lebanon coast from the earliest times has impelled some writers to identify them with the Fenkhu (Fenkhu?) of Egyptian records. There has been an effort to explain this as the original of the Greek "Phoinik"-ex, our "Phoenician." It is phonetically impossible (contra, Eisler, ZDMG, 1926, p. 154); and since it is in Egyptian records as early as 1500 B.C. (Thothmes III), if it were an ethnic name it should be frequent in the OT, like "Philistine." Further, see Prolegomena, Section 3. Carpenters and shipbuilders were called Fenkhu, in later Egyptian. If the term were anything more than "northern barbarian" (Müller), it expressed the fact that the Gebal region was a carpentering and ship-building coast.

The Egyptian inscriptions relative to such industry, from the Sixth Dynasty onward give us the name Negâ for the Kupna region: rich in pines, firs, resins, etc. The



local god was Khay-tau: his feminine paredra was Ga, or Gat, associated on reliefs with a goddess-lion. Her name is in the term Ne-ga: the adjective negau should be "producer of firs." Egypt sedulously cultivated their favor, so we have a Fir-God and Goddess as the "Lord and Lady of Kipna-Gebal." (Montet, Syria, IV) possibly the "Baal of the Lebanon." Cf. I Kgs. 7:2, and the "Baal of Hermon," Jud. 3:3.

50. With Fnhu used as an equivalent for "carpenters, shipbuilders," it is clear that Egypt had shipyards on the Gebal coast, building vessels there instead of rafting all timber to Egypt and building there, and then returning to Gebal. And supporting this, we find Unas, 2650 B.C. calling the Mediterranean "The Lake of Pharaoh"; and Thothmes III (1500 B.C.) speaking of the northern invaders as inciting revolt in "all countries on the water of the Egyptians." Egypt counted itself a great naval military power then; the whole eastern Mediterranean was hers! And Rameses II, 200 years later calls it "Great Lake of the North," and boasts that he "rules the sea." From what port did this commercial-naval domination spread?

#### 51. Gebal Egypt's Seaport for Palestine.

In the Minoan-Philistine Outlines the Beth-Eglaim seaport, near Gaza, appeared the greatest ancient emporium, and greatest port, for Palestine; and Hyksos kings had held it as such. Discoveries already made show that Egypt was there commercially, 2500 B.C. But the very scanty extant political records before 2000 B.C. do not tell us of political control. With the silting up of the harbor, Gaza has remained a preëminent caravan town ever since. But Egypt needed metals, and building timber, and such heavy ware could not be dragged through the Palestinian mountains. Timber must be had from Lebanon or Somali land; metals from northern Asia Minor, Cyprus, the Caucasus, South Russia, or North Persia. Palestine had none. Sea-transportation was vital.

52. So Gebal (Byblos) was an Egyptian trading colony as early as 4000 B.C. It was twenty miles north of Beirut, 180 miles north of the later Jerusalem, strongly protected by "The Sacred River" four miles south; now the Nahr Ibrahim, swarming with ancient shrines. "Gebal," Arabic Jebel, means "mountain"; the city was the "mountain port." It had a poor harbor, but had roads to all the Lebanon region. Timber was the chief export; slaves the second; olive oil and wines the third; and some menagerie animals. Metals from the mountains of Asia Minor and from the Caucasus were shipped through Gebal. This northern coast began to be called "Canaan" after 1500 B.C. Palestine was not so called. (Gressman, ZATW, 1925: 225-242. See Minoan Outlines, Sections 83-86.) Further, early Egyptians did not embalm their dead. Early necropolises at Abydos show cutting flesh from bones, and preserving bones. See Section 22. Heat may dry and preserve a body. But to aid the process with gums and resins is learned by peoples who have such. Egypt in time learned to use such Gebal products also.

#### 53. No Bronze Mt. Ephraim.

A further explanation of Egypt's reaching Palestine through Gebal is the fact that Central Palestine - "Mount Ephraim" - was not a mercantile region till Israelite times. No city-sites of the bronze age have been found in those highlands; no cities are there in the Tell el-Amarna letters (1500-1350 B.C.); none are there in the Joshua stories (Josh. 12:7-24). It seems to have been an undisturbed forest till Josh. 17: 14-18, with "coast-landers" holding the adjacent cleared lands.

#### 54. Egypt Dominates Gebal-Cultus-Regalia.

It has been shown that close parallels in the culture of the predynastic cultures of the Delta and the Palestine coast-peasantry must be credited in some measure to identity of stocks and cultural traditions, not simply to Egyptian political overlordship. The mysterious Fenkhu of Section 49 may have been related to the Berbers. But Egypt's more rapid advance in some respects makes Gebal ape her assiduously. Though Egypt reverences the local gods, Section 49, these are regularly arrayed in Egyptian regalia. When Semitic-speaking peoples begin to appear along the coast (about 2580 B.C.?) and their language becomes dominant, their divinities are either Egyptian, or must appear to be! Consider 2 Kgs. 17:27 ff; I Sam. 26: 17-19; Deut. 12:30. The Baalat or



"Mistress" of Gebal, (see Section 49) is arrayed like the Egyptian Hathor (Daughter of the Sun-Hawk). In the Tell El-Amarna Letters (No. 102:53), the "Béit of Gubla" is called "goddess of my lord the King!" (Pharaoh; about 1350 B.C.) - And more than ten centuries later, in the time of Yehaw-milk, the baalat of Gebal wears Egyptian insignia, including the Hat-Horus and solar disk. And Plutarch (80 A.D.) identifies the Astarte of Byblos (Gebal) of his time with Isis, while Lucian (160 A.D.) declares that feasts in her temple were not in honor of the "Semitic" Adonis, (adon! = "O my lord!") but of the Egyptian Osiris. (Plessis, p. 160). And the King of Gebal long wears Egyptian insignia of royalty. (See plates in Montet.)

#### 55. Beginnings of Metallurgy. "Perizzites" Are "Metal-Workers."

Ere turning to dynastic contacts with Palestine, the rise of metallurgy introduces one more geographical contact. Copper was discovered in North Persia and Caucasus areas about 4000 B.C. (Tubal-Kayin, Gen. 4:5 = Tibar-ene "Smiths?"). Roving metallurgists sought new supplies. It was probably the Minoan-Cypriote copper-workers who from their Gaza-Gerar-Beth-Palet base discovered the Sinai copper mines, and those of Moab-Edom, and taught natives something of mining and smelting (cf. Olmstead, 53). For no city-culture ever arose in Sinai; and the local methods were so inefficient that Egypt at times preferred to drive the native workers away, and work the mines with her own labor (just as we modern nations do!). But the line of ancient bronze age cities from Damascus south through Edom, with Moab and Edom copper mines, bring before us the Rutennu of the Egyptian inscriptions from the 12th Dynasty (2000 B.C.) onward; depicted as helmeted, slender, bronze-weaponed, with horses and light chariots. (See Wilkinson.) See the Lotán of North Edom in Gen. 36:20-30; and "Lot" of our AV is everywhere Lotán in LXX. Retennu for the Egyptian in the earlier records meant Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Bashan of the OT. Ps. 83:10 includes all but Bashan as "children of Lot." Were the occasional Egyptian raids in Rutennu especially for the sake of copper? We must excavate those city-sites. But we see Egypt claimed political control of northern Sinai. Her hundreds of thousands of tons of copper slag tell the story.

Of first importance here is the recent discovery that Parzi is a general Hittite word for "metal"; parzi-ili is "iron"; the barzel of the Hebrew OT. The Perizzí so often paired with Hittites in the Pentateuch, Judges and Joshua are simply "metal-workers." Palestine was a land of "metal-workers" before Israel came in; cf. Judg. 1:19; Judg. 5:8; 1 Sam. 13:19 f.

#### 56. Egyptian Gods.

Here a moment's survey of the gods of historic Egypt may be made. (See Budge, Nile, pp. 255-300 - Knight, p. 23; Hall, 189-204). It will be recognized that by historic times there is a swarm of godlings in Egypt. Some are of the old Hamitic peasantry (see Section 30); some of negro peoples from the south; some of the old Delta-Sahara Libyco-Berber peoples. Others will be imported, by commerce and conquest, in the historic period. Each nome has its preferred godlings. Nearly all are ignored, in the royal inscriptions and insignia! But cults assuring the hereafter, and agriculture, will hold their place; sungod and moongod may change names only, while petty totems and minor cosmic fantasies come and go. (Knight, p. 30). Egypt's ideas of the hereafter will incessantly pour into Palestine.

And it must be remembered that every Pharaoh is a god! Every royal stele set up in Palestine demands local worship of the royal god or divine king (the "Molech" of our OT). While the king-gods come and go, the Kingdom of God will be clarified.

#### 57. Third Egyptian Dynasty - Stone Buildings Appear.

So far, no stone buildings of the predynastic period, or of the First and Second Dynasties, are known. But Zoser, or Teheser, "The Holy," son of Kha-Sekhemui of Section 43f bursts upon us with a blaze of architectural achievement in stone, associated with his great step-pyramid at Sakkarah. Hall (BMG 155, 287) argues that there could not have been any long antecedent experience for the fluted columns, reed-columns, lily-columns, shown us for the first time (ILN, 10-4-1924; 10-18-1924; 1-7-1928). That assumes that there never was any stone-architecture in the buried and unexplored Delta



Mediterranean culture. Others will think that this earlier and higher culture is now being used in Hamitic territory. Yem-hatpe, or Im-hotep, his architect-genius, was later deified as the patron of all science. Zoser portrays himself as smiting Sinai, while his successor Senekht placed his inscription over the mines. Zoser left several inscriptions there. (See Knight, 44) A Ptolemaic inscription on island Sahal, above Elephantine is dated 18th year of Zoser (Ptolemy restored an inscription 3,000 years old?) It tells of seven years famine, produced by low Nile; ended by sacrifices to Khnum at Elephantine, and decree that tithes of everything should be paid to Khnum's temple. This Zoser event would be near 1200 years before the conjectured time of Joseph. Did Hebrews adapt the tale?

Later, under Huni, papyrus Prisse was compiled: Instruction of Kagemni. Consider the fragment, Knight, p. 45; near 2000 years before the Solomonic collection of proverbs.

58. Connected with Zoser also is our oldest extant record of the practice of endowing tombs or mortuary chapels to insure regular sacrifices to the dead and priestly masses for the repose of the dead! Near the Sphinx of Gizeh has been found the tomb of Upem-nefert and his princess-wife, Meris-Ankh. He was administrator of a famous vineyard, Dua-Her-Khent-Pet, planted earlier by Zoser! Upem-nefert's eldest son, the scholar Aba, was in a chamber on the right, with a deed inscribed on the walls by his father, giving the income of the endowment to said eldest son. There are fifteen witnesses, including the royal steward, doctor, oculist, architect, and painter. (London Sunday Times, 6-7-1931). We see Zoser insuring himself a plentiful supply of wine Hereafter, and that the priestly administration of such endowment was hereditary. See Is. 19:11. The institution must be far older than the dynastic period. Compare Sarah's tomb-land, Gen. 23:9,20. (See Godbey, "The Mamre of Abram," Nashville Christian Advocate, 7-28, and 8-4-1931).

#### 59. Sneferu.

First king of Fourth Dynasty; first king to place a cartouche about his personal name; first king to place the cartouche about four of the royal titles. The sealing (originally the Euphratean cylinder-seal) is the preëminent royal insignium. His navy, about 2950 B.C. dominated the eastern Mediterranean. From the coast he made expeditions into the interior of "Syria," as we call it. The reliefs of Sneferu show also his fleet on the Red Sea, for trade with South Arabia, East Africa, and possibly India. For India had great cities and commerce in the Indus Valley as early as the First Egyptian Dynasty. H. R. Hall says that the civilization in Egypt and Syria at this time was as highly developed as our own. A Messianic prophecy is popular in Egypt at this time, more than 2,000 years before any Israelite specimens that we have. (See specimen in Barton, 521 ff.) It shows what the bards and oracles in Sneferu's service would proclaim in Palestine or elsewhere, upon occasion. But consider Peet, pp. 120 ff. Sneferu builds vessels 167 feet long; tells of a fleet of 40 sent to the Lebanon for timber. He wars with Mentiu marauders in the Sinaitic peninsula. The tomb of Anti at Deshashah shows the storming of the city of Netia in South Palestine. Cf. Olmstead, 57. As in Section 41, his mortuary chapel boasts of the wares of the Lebanon.—Cf. Knight, 46.

#### 60. Cheops (Khufu, Egyptian name).

Builder of the Great Pyramid, about 2,900 B.C. Records scanty. But the 100,000 men steadily employed for 20 years in building the pyramid-tomb must have been chiefly captives from Asia. (Cf. Knight, 49-53). Such was the case with later conqueror builders. For his favorite wife, Hetep-Heres, he built the great stone "Boat-Tomb," recently discovered (ILN, 2-7-1925). It shows that magnificent royal vessels, with burial in such in Viking fashion, were a controlling ideal. An inscription of Cheops has been found at Gebel, with several vases of this Fourth Dynasty.

No historical inscriptions of Khufu remain. The length of his reign is not known. Herodotus credits him with 63 years, which probably includes the three builders of the Great Pyramids at Gizeh. The tradition of the wrecking of his memorials by maddened populace is credible. It has recently been discovered that his mother's grave was





plundered. For Palestine, the immediate significance is that the 300,000 impressed workmen said to have been employed upon his projects certainly included large drafts of foreign laborers; such is the boast of Pharaohs of historic records. An inscription of Khufu has been recently found at Gebel; he needed much timber. Also several vases of other kings of this dynasty. We have no Palestinian records of his levies and excavations.

#### 61. Chephren: the "Sphinx"; "The Pharaoh."

Son of Khufu, builder of the second Pyramid. His Egyptian name is Kha'f-Ra', "Appearance of The Sungod." For the student, an outstanding feature is that he is about the first to assume the peculiar title Per'ā, "Great House," which we pronounce "Pharo." A second feature is that the mysterious sphinx, the perplexity of the subsequent 4800 years, has been proven by Reisner to be a portrait of Chephren. His mortuary chapel was found in the drifting sand between the forepaws of the sphinx. (Thothmes IV uncovered this chapel 1400 years after Chephren's time and thought it Khufu's.) It should be remembered that all Egyptian portrait-sphinxes are male. Female belong to Syria and Asia Minor.

We still lack inscriptions of Chephren, as we do of Cheops and Mycerinus. But the epoch-making excavations of Montet at Tanis, the Zoan of the OT, brought out in 1933 the fact that these Fourth Dynasty kings had made a splendid seaport city there, and that later dynasties used its material largely for their own buildings. (AfO, 1933, p. 77f.) Their dominance of the Palestine-Lebanon seacoast may yet be shown by inscriptions. Chephren's traditional 56 years of oppression Hall estimates at about 20. His "building-levies" meant the same thing for Palestine that his father's did.

#### 62. Mycerinus: Men-Kaû-Ra': "Son of the Sungod." (Twenty Years).

He has suddenly burst upon us with unparalleled brilliance. His inscriptions announce him "Son of the Sungod" (Ra'); the first appearance of this title, which will persist to the end. "The Egyptian king must be addressed as such hereafter, by adulatory subjects, in Palestine or elsewhere. 1500 years later the Tell el-Amarna letters will show the official address, "To the King my lord, my god, my sungod," etc; and it is certain that like official formulae continued into the days of Israelite kings.

The pre-eminence of Ra' in the official cult from this time is probably reflected in the OT. The Jewish scholar Joshua Bloch (in JSOR, Jan.-Apr. 1932, p. 57) suggests that the curious Ex. 10:10 has been mistranslated in our AV: the word ra'h has been read as Hebrew when it is the Egyptian god. "And (Pharaoh) said to them, 'May Yahu be with you, if I ever let you and your associates go! Look out! for Ra' is against you!'" Dr. Joseph Seliger also recognized Ra' in the verse. Rashi recognizes a Ra h as the name of some star in his time (2500 years after the Exodus). In Ex. 32:12 read, "For Ra' brought them forth to slay them in the mountains, etc." The policy urged in Deut. 12:3, of destroying all old god-names, has obscured many a page of the OT.

#### 63. Splendour of Fourth Dynasty Art.

Nothing has been known of Mycerinus from historical records. But Reisner's recent excavations of the area about the Third Pyramid, known as that of Mycerinus, uncovered his unfinished tomb-temple, connected with his valley-temple by a road. It was of extraordinary, unsuspected richness. And the temples of three little pyramids of his queens are south of the great one. The student must remember that wherever Egyptian power is established, there will be the worship of the Pharaoh and his ancestors as guardians of the state, and "sons of God." Such are included in the numerous baalim of OT.

Previously only thirteen statues and statuettes were known, of the entire Fourth Dynasty. There were only five portrait statues; Cheops, Radey, two of Chephren, and a poor Mycerinus. The new temples have furnished seventeen statues and fifteen statuettes, variously unfinished, because of M.'s sudden death (about 2900 B.C.? Reisner). Seven are of Mycerinus, one of the queen, two of other members of the family. The immense collection of stone jars, ceramics, seals, amulets, faïences, bone and ivory artifacts, though incomplete, are the most astonishing works of Egyptian art. Mycerinus seems to have used the great artists collected by Cheops and Chephren. After the decadent Sixth Dynasty the Renaissance of the Eleventh harked back to the forms and technique of the Fourth. These persist to the end.

Whence this marvelous Fourth, asserting their godship, with a boundless power that could treat nobles as peasants?



As for Mycerinus in Palestine, numerous relics of him have been found at Gebal; much timber was needed for his enterprises, his godship must have been well worshipped! (G. A. Reisner, The Temples of the Fourth Dynasty at Gizeh; Harvard, 1931.)

#### 64. Egyptian Tombs at Gebal.

The excavations at Gebal-Byblos and at the far later Sidon have discovered that the local kings or governors had their own tombs made in Egyptian shaft-tomb style, with stone sarcophagi of Egyptian pattern, and tomb-equipment of Egyptian manufacture, with Egyptian hieroglyph inscriptions. Egyptian ideas of Death and the Hereafter, and Egyptian modes of preparation for it, are dominant. As Egypt was on this coast for a thousand years before the arrival of Sidonian Semites, we must expect the newcomers to "learn the manner of the god of the land" (as in 2 K. 17:26 ff.). Consider again Section 54, and Minoan Outlines, Section 34.

#### 65. Great Fourth Dynasty Queen, Khent-Kawes.

Here we must notice a great Egyptian queen, Khent-Kawes. She had a pyramid at Gizeh; its masonry-top, ever protruding from the sand, had produced no suspicion that a pyramid hewn out of solid rock was beneath. Discovered by Prof. Selim Hassan of the Egyptian University early in 1932, the doorjambs announce "Queen Khent-Kawes, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mother of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, daughter of the god, (Pharaoh) of whom all good things she had done are told, Khent-Kawes." She wears the royal vulture. The lack of inscriptions in her chapel-tomb, and her pyramid at Gizeh seem to connect her with the Fourth Dynasty, while indications of a Rising-Sun Cult suggest a Fifth. We have a figure as startling at Hatshepsut: See Sections 110-111. It will take some years to complete the excavations. (N.Y. Times, 2-20-1932, p. 21; London Times, 2-22-1932, p. 11.)

In March, 1934, Prof. Hassan made further inscriptional discoveries, proving that the mysterious Khent-Kawes was the daughter and successor of Mycerinus. This intensifies our curiosity. For the end of Mycerinus was sudden and mysterious, as shown in Section 62, and there seems to have been four rulers following, in about twenty-five years, before the rise of User-Kaf. One of these ruled eighteen years. That must have been Khent-Kawes: the excavated pyramid and pyramid-city required much time. There was a struggle against the rising Ra<sup>c</sup> Cult. But Khent-Kawes was one of its protagonists. Yet so was the succeeding founder of the Fifth Dynasty. The names and attitude of three short-lived contemporaries of Khent-Kawes are not known. That her great-uncle Hordedef, son of Khufu, composed certain chapters of the "Book of the Dead" and was renowned for his learning is known (Is. 19:11, b).

Khent-Kawes built the first "pyramid-city" for her priests and temple-servitors. In time it became so crowded that it was abandoned, and private dwellings were provided. She cut a tunnel through the adjoining crag as a private entrance to her temple.

#### 66. Fifth Dynasty: Userkaf: Sahu-Ra : Kakaa.

First king a revolutionary usurper; probably high-priest of Ra<sup>c</sup>, at On of Gen. 41:45. The story of how he and his two brothers, Sahu-Ra<sup>c</sup> and Kakaa reached the throne, became popular folk-tale (Hall, 297). Men-Kau-Ra<sup>c</sup> had announced himself "Son of Ra<sup>c</sup>", and there now came an immense expansion of this Sungod cult; and with Kakaa began the custom of the king taking a special personal name, as "Son of Ra<sup>c</sup>"; his own was Nefer-ari-ka-Ra<sup>c</sup>. These kings erected their large pyramids at Abusir. (For the pyramid temple of Ne-user-Ra<sup>c</sup>, see Knight, 5%) Sahu-Ra<sup>c</sup> (2743-2731, Breasted) pictures his fleet of great seagoing vessels sent to South Arabian coasts and Somali-land; which meant exchanges with peoples farther east. He pictured Mesopotamian fallow deer, Syrian bears, opens mines in Sinai, and has himself pictured clubbing a native of Sinai. How much fighting he did to maintain those distant contacts we do not know. In his mortuary chapel are some peculiar vases that are announced to be "from Lebanon" - Ra<sup>c</sup> en-user, or Ne-user-Ra<sup>c</sup> (2721-2691?) continued the mining in Sinai, and claimed conquests in Palestine.

#### 67. Sumerian Advance to Amurru. (Cf. Section 35, Prolegomena.)

Lugal-Zaggisi, the Sumerian King of Ur, Uruk (Erech of Gen. 10:10) Gishban and Larsa, near head of the Persian Gulf, records that he reached the Mediterranean about this time. Discoveries at Katna show it a Sumerian stronghold commanding their Eleutheros Valley road to their Amurru port (modern Amrit). An archaic Sumerian seal cy-



5.

3). Next important figure after Ne-user-  
erary significance are the "Precepts of  
507.) Isesi has again to reconquer all Si-  
ce of placing the royal cartouche at the  
with the tribal claim - marks of many petty  
gh the centuries, we should consider this  
y his name on his claim, or to a modern na-  
y. Dad-kara may have meant to claim the  
ked..

ave shown an Egyptian foreign trade 2000  
22; Ps. 78:12; 43: Is. 19:11; 30:4; Ezek.  
had been an immemorial port of entry; a  
s; a meeting place of cultures, cults, and  
overland immigration and settlement; prob-  
n the northern ports of Gebal and Ugarit  
trade. (Cf. Montet, L'Illustration, 10-  
Eglaim (Minoan Outlines, Section 40),  
th into Egypt. "Syrian" (See Prolegomena  
l us the race. It is notable for its  
not found among any peoples of Palestine.

5).

h incursions from "Syria" as above?) Bowl  
The Baal of Gebal (Section 49) he claims  
is by the Lake of Pharaoh" (the Mediter-  
of the mountain Land," while a contemporary  
k of his god in the same way, and to call  
); "son of the sun-god Ra" of the mountain

urgic innovation. Read Section 58 again.  
always failed. Lands may be confiscated,  
o he gathered a great number of priestly  
from very old papyri, others perhaps older  
graved them on the interior of his tomb-  
akkara. These dealt with the destiny of  
tion among the gods, his lordship over the  
f priests! He could read the liturgies in  
mb!

its end. Other persons of distinction  
n came the texts for common people who were  
ing for offerings; these were now freed  
ing of the texts on sarcophagi; finally  
the dead. Thus arose "The Book of the  
e that Knight, p. 54, did not know the  
izes the lessening of the power of priest-

bably credit the "Precepts of Ptah-hotep."

n and harbor of Zoan enlarged. Sixth Dy-  
ildings there (Montet, supra). Manufac-  
estinian population is still agrarian;



mainly Mediterranean? Their little "castle-settlements" are not "cities" in our sense. The early Bronze strata at Megiddo, Lachish, Gezer, Jericho, etc. are of this period; and are town settlements, whose primitive strongholds are of Egyptian plan. (See Duncan, Garstang.) Egyptian protective garrisons made these strongholds. Probably the southward Syrian push in Section 70 had compelled Egypt to garrison its caravan routes. They show the Palestinian peasant-folk are just coming out of the stone-age: pottery rude, rough, badly burnt, with many stone utensils. All finer ceramics and decorative objects are Egyptian. People who are indebted to Egyptian garrisons and officials for protection would accept some Egyptian cultus-ideas. "Phoenician" coast in the same stage. But the "Phoenicians" are not there yet!

#### 74. Sixth Dynasty: Teti II.

(2625 ff.) is at Gebal and seems to identify himself with the Fir god Khai-taw (Section 49) who is in the midst of Ne-ga, the "Fir-producing" land. (Pharaoh is master of the lumber industry?) Pepi I (2590-2570) left alabaster (calcite) offering-disks in the temple at Gebal. The drying up of Arabia begins to force the immigration of starving agriculturists; and their struggle into south Palestine begins. Pepi sends four expeditions against them without success. In a fifth, he ships his troops to Carmel (Haifa harbor) and comes down from the north upon these new settlers. (HAE, p. 121.) Pepi's captain destroys their figs and their vines. They are not nomad herdsmen. (ARE: 313-5). A picture in a tomb at Deshashseh shows Pepi attacking a Palestinian town. A scarab of his was found at Gezer, and a funerary statue (PEFQ, 1903, p. 36). See new need of garrisons. The early form of Hebrew probably brought in by this migration; it was certainly current by 2500 B.C. (Albright, AJSL, 1925, p. 77).

#### 74-B. New Hebrews Transmit Old Egyptian.

But in this connection it should be stated that the Egyptian language of the Old Kingdom had taken so strong a hold upon the popular speech of Palestine by this time that it was never shaken off. Twelve hundred years later, in the El-Amarna period, we shall see that Egyptian words are a large element in the correspondence. But the form of such words is that of this Old Kingdom period; not that of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is comparable to the survival of mediaeval Yiddish in modern Germany. The reason for this peculiar fact is not yet clear. But it must be related to the fact that the incoming Hebrew-speakers of the time were without organized literature or literary traditions, and finding themselves in some servile contact with Egyptian overlords picked up many words from their masters and transmitted them to their descendants in the Old Kingdom forms. But that suggests little secluded communities of Hebrew-speakers, like Yiddish communities in Germany.

75. At this point consider the tradition of Phoenician migration, which Eiselin incorporates in his "Sidon." The tradition is that they once dwelt on the coasts of the Erythraean Sea--which means any Indian Ocean or Persian Gulf coast. (See Hastings' DB, iii, p. 858, col. 1.) They came thence overland, stopping a while by some salt sea or lake. That would acknowledge that they were not a people of ships, who could have come through the Red Sea, but rather an agrarian folk. The "Salt Lake" could not have been either Lake Van or Lake Urmiah; a mass-migration northward through the powerful kingdoms of the Euphrates and Tigris has left no records. Movement across Arabia would mean past the inland sea of which the Salt lakes and marshes of the Wady Sirhan are a remnant. The failing of this agricultural area would prompt a further move, such as the above.

But Meyer has shown that this migration-story is an invention of late Greek writers. In the Iliad, "Phoenicians" are mentioned only twice: in the Odyssey, five times, as slave-dealers and kidnappers, haunting the coasts of Egypt and Corcyra-Corfu. In neither are there any Phoenician colonies. On Cyprus were the late colonies of Kition and Lapithos. There is no trace of them in Cornwall; and the settlement in Etruria is mythical.

As to art they had none--only a medley of imitations of the art of the peoples with whom they traded. (Read Ezek. 27). The Tyrians could leave their "trade-name" on many of the costly wares they exchanged. (Meyer, 128). "Few people were so beggarly





poor in artistic invention as the Phoenician. We may at most compare the Wends of the "Middle Ages." ... "They degraded all they copied in time." (Review of Meyer, by Max Pieper: OLZ, Apr. 1933, 201-209).

As for any actual notice of Tyre or Sidon in the Egyptian records, there is none till 1280 years after the above wars of Pepi I. Tyre is mentioned by Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.). Sidon appears in Wen-Amon's story, 200 years later still. Both are in Tell el-Amarna Letters (1420-1358 B.C.), but not as preëminent seaports. Note again Prolegomena, Section 3.

Excavation evidence has just come from the epoch-making discoveries made at Ras Shamra, the ancient wealthy capital Ugarit, during five successive seasons. The great Mycenaean palace and necropolis of 1400-1200 B.C. had been injected into a polyglot trading community; nine different languages already have been found. And Egypt seemed politically influential, as at Gebal further south, through five preceding centuries. But an early form of Hebrew or "Phoenician" is the language of the main body of the community. But the culture with which these inscriptions are connected does not appear till 2000 B.C. or later. Beneath that culture is an older, different one with beautiful gray-green pottery painted in geometric designs in brownish-black and red, surprisingly like the same type found on sites in Irak and Persia: (Susa, Tepe Giyan, Tepe Moussian, Eridu, prediluvian Ur, etc.) dating back into the third and fourth milleniums B.C. The same pottery is found in the older strata of Tell Halaf. (See Section 69.) That clarifies Gen. 10:16, in which "Heth" or the Hittite-Hurrian culture is declared to be one of the older elements on the "Phoenician" coast. The Phoenician as we think of him had not reached that coast in 2000 B.C. And Dr. Schaeffer, commenting on a beautiful golden plate and bowl just discovered, observes that these objects of the fourteenth century B.C. are among the oldest and most beautiful specimens of "Phoenician" art. But the beautiful repousse designs are composite, borrowing from Cyprus, Mycenae, Egypt, Assyria: creditably copied by the "Syrian" artists. This corroborates the above criticism of Meyer. (ILN, 3-3-1934).

But for our immediate connection with the reign of Pepi I, excavations have shown that no such artists were settling in Palestine in his day.

#### 76. Pepi II: Nefer-Ka-Ra, (2566-2470).

Tradition records that he lived to the age of 100, reigning 96 years; probably the longest in history (Hall, 302). The garrisoning of caravan-roads and the sending of powerful convoys, noted in Section 70, goes further. Harkhuf, a great caravan-conductor of his time, records that he made four caravan-trips into the Soudan with great success. (HAE, p. 124). His family were great lords at Elephantine. His achievements he carved on the rocks there, and caravan-conductors today stop before the hieroglyphs and pray for a successful journey. Fleets sent along the Palestine-Lebanon coasts, to Cyprus and Crete and to Punt; South Arabia? Somaliland. (Cf. Knight, 66, 67 is astray.) In the Aegean, fragments of Egyptian stoneware have been found at Mochlos, Knossos, Pfeira: diorite and syenite: Egyptian pearls at Mochlos. Empire expands through "Syria."

Zoan grows greater, Memphis declines. At Gebal a stele represents Pepi? kneeling before the Lord and Lady of Gebal. (Section 49), seated and equipped with Egyptian regalia, each accompanied by the inscription, "Beloved of Hathor, Lord of Gebal." The "House of Horus" is the real "Lord of Gebal!" Again the "Lady of Gebal" is arrayed as a Hat-Hor embracing the Egyptian King; and every more prominent Egyptian emblem is in the temple (Olmstead 69). There is no bowing of Egypt to local cults! Egyptian writing still dominates the Gebal vicinity. But in Asia Minor, the Hurrian-Akkadian ("Assyrian") trading posts, with their cuneiform script on clay tablets (the so-called "Cappadocian" tablets) appear in the "Hittite" area, as colonies permitted by and tributary to the local lords (Landsberger, Der Alte Orient). So Egyptian writing does not seem popularly adopted in Asia Minor. It is not possible to draw good pictures on mud with a sharp stick. And Asia Minor had no papyrus, or "paper," for writing with a pen.

#### 77. Seventh to Tenth Dynasty: 27 Kings, 146 years (Manetho).

The tremendous commercial impulsion of the Sixth Dynasty ends with a crash; was it not logical? Hall writes, "The monuments prove that between the Third and Sixth Dynasties the Egyptians lived in a state of serfdom, and that they regarded their king



as the owner of both their souls and their bodies. He was the very essence of divinity in human form upon earth, and his power was absolute; even in the Other World his authority was held to be equal to that of the great gods of the dead." (Hall, 303).

But how could such servility be expected of or enforced upon a host of enterprising foreign merchants, daring all hardships and perils from Egypt to the Black Sea, Caspian, Turkestan, Farther Arabia or the Soudan? We may remember that trade-guilds of the Middle Ages discomfited barons and kings, and scoffed at divine pretensions and divine rights. Pepi II had not excluded the adventurers flocking into the Delta; he had fostered Zoan, not Memphis. The commercial interests prefer leadership of their own. Zoan is anything but Hamitic! So local dynasties develop. A jasper cylinder of one Seventh Dynasty Pharaoh shows him as a "Syrian" with Syrian attendants (Wilkinson). But he wears Pharaoh regalia. The attendant officers are in Egyptian official robes. Egypt is not being thoroughly "Syrianized"; but she will influence Syria all the more when Syrians themselves are the representatives of the Egyptian culture. Discoveries at Beth-Eglaim (See Minoan Outlines) have made clearer to us this racial invasion from Asia Minor. Nor are relations of the Delta culture with the Mediterranean and Palestine-Lebanon world suddenly terminated. We cannot secure records of such relations from the feeble Nile Valley princelings; that is all. (Not grasped by Knight, 68-70. Caution: child-sacrifice is not peculiarly "Semitic," nor peculiarly "Palestinian!"). The pyramid of a hitherto unknown Eighth Dynasty king named Aba was discovered at Sakkara by Jequier in 1931. Was he of this foreign dynasty? The Ninth and Tenth Dynasty kinglets also tell us nothing of contact with the Mediterranean world. But Egyptian temple and cultus-symbols of the period found at Gebal.

#### 78. Chronological Anarchy—Beginning of Hyksos?

With a few shadowy names, and no certain dates, either in Manetho or the Turin Papyrus, we can do nothing as yet. The probability is that we deal with kinglets of provincial areas, more or less contemporary with each other. Second, the mysterious Hyksos or "Foreign Chieftain" domination of Manetho may begin with the fall of the Sixth Dynasty. Duncan and others take that position, dating from 2375 B.C. The British Museum, recognizing grave difficulties with the current short chronology of Erman-Breasted, has for some time rejected 2000-1788 B.C. as the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, and has made it end with 2000 B.C.

Now Manetho, says Josephus (Against Apion, 1:14) makes the Hyksos domination last 511 years. (From its known fall in 1580 ff. this would reach back to a beginning in 2091. Josephus in Apion 1:31 and 1:26 uses the number 518 in a way we can not explain, unless he means the same thing.) And Josephus' 400 years of Israelite oppression in Egypt (Ant. 11, 8, 9) may have been obtained by deducting Joseph's 110 years of life under Hyksos favor from Manetho's 511. Current modern historians, assuming that Manetho's Hyksos meant only the recently proven Iranian irruption of 150-200 years now find themselves in chronological difficulties, which disappear if we recognize that Manetho's "Foreign Prince" domination was much more inclusive.

#### 79. Middle Kingdom—Eleventh Dynasty, 2160 ff. (Breasted).

Out of the welter of conflict among rival Delta powers emerges a struggle between princes of Memphis and those of Herakleopolis, about 60 miles south of Cairo; those of the Thebaid warring with both. Thebes finally wins, and a local chief named Antefâ, "Hereditary Prince" and "Great Prince of the nome of the Thebaid, satisfier of the heart of the king, controller of the Gates of the Cataract, the support of the South, making the two banks of the Nile to live, Chief of the priests, the loyal servant of the Great God, The Lord of Heaven" seems to have become the founder of a new dynasty. Thus he does not claim sovereignty of the north; the princes of Herakleopolis ruling the Delta, with possibly a rival shadow-king at Memphis (Hall 305). He is credited with 50 years rule in the South. A successor announces himself as "Horus" (The Rising Sun-god) and the next announces himself as Nsût Biât, "Lord of the South and the North"; and he is followed by the one we know as Menthu-hetep I. It was probably an idle boast, for his successor, Menthu-hetep II announces himself as Neb-taui-Ra, "Lord of the Two Lands of Ra", yet this claim again is discounted by the fact that his own successor, Menthu-hetep III began his reign with the Horus-title Neter-hedget, "Divine is the White Crown," (of Upper Egypt) but changed it in the middle of his reign to Sam-taui, "Uniting the Two Lands."



### 80. Eleventh Dynasty: Menthu-hetep III.

His triumph is purely personal; only part of his 46 years does he claim to rule both North and South. Of the whole 160 years allotted to this dynasty, probably less than one-fourth saw one monarch ruling both regions. Viewed as a struggle between the Hamitic culture of the Thebaid and the Northern cultures that had been crowding southward into Palestine and the Delta, through 250 years before Menthu-hetep III, nothing was accomplished by the Thebans. The new-comers have become an integral part of the local populations, yet inevitably with non-Egyptian points of view. Zoan continues to be the great maritime port. Inscriptions on royal tombs at Gebel continued to be in Egyptian hieroglyphics. Egyptian shipbuilding upon that coast still flourishes. A change of rulers far up the Nile does not interrupt the coastland activities. Menthu-hetep III sent a highly organized expedition of 3000 men to the Red Sea to make voyages to Punt; he reconquered Nubia; he pushed into Palestine-Syria—perchance making contact with the early Hittite kingdoms? But all this is a purely personal military achievement; the mighty cultural trends of the northern lands are not affected.

### 81. Eleventh Dynasty weakens: Asiatic Revolt.

The feeble successors of Menthu-hetep III launch a long string of curses at rebels in Asia: about 2000 B.C. "All the Aamu of Gebal" are included. Zebulun is one of the accursed places; 800 years before there were Israelites in Zebulun. Three Anak princes are named: Elem? Akram? and Abima-Ammu? (Compare Joshua 15:13). An Egyptian official near this time mentions the Beta ("Hittite") in southwest Palestine. Compare Genesis 23. Perhaps the Hittite advance had produced the revolt from Egypt. (Albright, JPOS, 1928, 223 ff.). Sir Percy Sykes (History of Persia) says the Aryan-Iranian people later known as Medes and Persians have been leaving the area east of the Caspian (drought-driven?) and pressing into Persia. Jirku observes that all Asia Minor is overrun by the immigrant fugitives. In time they dominate Syria and Palestine. When they conquer a corner of Egypt, they will be the Hyksos kings. Cf. Section 57.

### 82. Jerusalem 2000 B.C.

Especially important in the above "cursing-texts" is the mention of Jerusalem grouped with the Minoan Askalon. It had been a dependency of Egypt. It lay on the little east hill later called "Ophel" and "City of David." Its importance was not due to religious considerations, but to the fact that the strong hill was at the intersection of commercial highways from Shechem to Hebron, from Philistia to East Jordan via Jericho; from the Tyrian coast to the Gulf of Akabah. (Maisler, JPOS, 1930; 2-3).

### 83. EA of Eridu.

In connection with above Aryan-Iranian advance consider the Sumerian city of Eridu, on a lagoon at the head of the Persian Gulf; famous for its god EA, "Lord of wisdom, Lord of healing, Lord of all mankind" in the cuneiform "theological" aggregations. Recent explorations prove it to have been founded in prediluvian times by the Hurru of Section 49. Cuneiform scholars have long known its older name Kha-Bûr (a folk or clan-name?). The Khabirû, so variously guessed by writers may have been its Hurru founders. And there are two Khabûr Rivers, with Hurru people on each. Were the town and the rivers named for the Khabirû people? EA is believed by some good scholars to be original of the Hebrew Yahu. How long will it take above Iranian migration to push Hurrian Khabirû and EA into Palestine and Egypt?

### 84. Ya-shar of Akkadian-speaking traders.

For we have to recognize that the name Ya or Ia had been established in Southern Asia Minor, in Akkadian-speaking trading posts at least, since the Sixth Egyptian Dynasty. Scholars speak of these records as "The Cappadocian tablets." The god Ea-Sar-ru, "Ea is king" is a chief god in Mitanni royal treaties 2000 years before Joshua's Israel was in Palestine. But in the Cappadocian tablets Ferris J. Stephens reports a dozen times the spelling Ia-Sar, or Ya-Sar. Is this the "Jasher" of Josh. 10:13; 2 Sam. 1:18? In 1 Sam. 12:12 Yahu had been "King." It is plain that the same agencies



that spread the name Yashar north of Syria 2500 B.C. could also have brought it south into Palestine. (JAOS, vol. 46, p. 180) Dr. Henry Englander, Hebrew Union College, specializing on Rabbinical exegesis, reports no light from Talmudic sources upon the early "Book of Yasher."

#### 85. Twelfth Dynasty: Amen-em-hat I, 2000-1970 B.C.

Probably the instigator of the revolt, against which the dying Menthu-hotep IV hurled his curses. (Read Knight, 74, and Olmstead, 83-85, and Hall, 312). If so, was he "proforeign" in his policy? For while the dynasty is called Theban, the new king identifies himself rather with the North, seizing a spot near Memphis, erecting his palace there, and calling it Ith-tau, "Seizing the Two Lands." The Sphinxes of this dynasty were long thought to be Hyksos. Is it not probable that immigrant adventurers who accepted fully Egyptian culture and cults actually became acceptable Egyptian Pharaohs?

#### 86. The New Policy of Amen-em-hat I.

Amen-em-hat I does not hurl volleys of curses at the restless Palestinians and Syrians. A recently recovered inscription of his son shows that the new dynasty revived the Third Dynasty pretensions, posing as lords of the future destinies of souls. See Section 77 and compare Ahaziah's consulting the Philistine Lord of Ekron, 2 Kings 5: 1-ff. Diplomatic gifts assuring the future happiness of the recipient, and accompanied by honorary official titles are more potent than armies and threats. It is no more pretension to power than the cursing predecessors made, but it is using it in a different way. Assurances of future happiness are mightier than threats of present damnation. At Ugarit Schaeffer found in 1934 the seated statue of Senusert-ankh, ("The man of Isis lives forever!" Hall, 182). He was the minister or ambassador of Amen-em-hat I at the Ugarit court. He may be the same great priest Senusert-ankh whose tomb has just been recovered near Lisht. Chiselled in fine limestone on the walls of the tomb are the lines:

"He lives! He lives! Senusert-ankh lives!  
He is not dead! Senusert-ankh is not dead!  
He has not perished! Senusert-ankh has not perished!"

(Lansing in N.Y. Herald-Tribune, 10-28-1933)

To send such a representative to the court of Ugarit or Gebal was a perpetual sermon, and enough to make local kinglets desire Egyptian sarcophagi and other mortuary equipment. Amen-em-hat compliments Gebal rulers with Egyptian official titles; his gifts keep them aping Egyptian ways. Schaeffer observes that his policy is to mould the petty Palestine-Syria kinglets into a powerful allied buffer-state, to hold back hostile powers beyond. The native Egyptian lords are Amen-em-hat's great opponents. Force seems the only agency for conquest that they can appreciate (Cf. Knight 76-79). His own death occurred during an expedition to the Soudan, and he was buried in Nubia with a heca-tomb of slaves (Hall, 314).

When firmly seated on the throne, he is glorified at Gebal, where Egyptian art and royal gifts and regalia mark the local kings (Olmstead, 86). It is very important that any native kinglet of Gebal in an Egyptian inscription, is always given the title which Egypt gives to the governor of a province or nome; but in a Phoenician inscription, for native readers, he is always melek or "King." Thus Gebal, in distinction from other coast-cities, always had her own king, but was a "province" of Egypt itself. And the pottery in the tombs of the Gebal kings is not Egyptian, but fine "Syrian" pottery. Letters from Egyptian officials show that "Hittites" are appearing in Southwest Palestine. No objection is on record.

(Read Tale of Sinuhe, who fled from Egypt at death Amen-em-hat I, Peet, 33-38: Barton 371).

#### 87. Twelfth Dynasty in Asia Minor.

In the Hittite country - Egyptian statuettes of this period were found at Kûrigin





Kaleh, 36 miles east of Angora, (AJSL, July 1926). This shows trading-posts there, 500 miles northwest of Gebal. A black granite statue of "the nurse, Sats-neferu" has been found at Adana, 25 miles west of the Gulf of Issus, 290 miles south-southeast of Kûrigin Kaleh. (Palace of Minos, II, 221). The Egyptian who could afford a black granite statue of a favorite nurse must have been a man of importance. Twelfth Dynasty Egypt must have had ports of entry on the Gulf of Issus, or on the Cilician bay. Dunand in 1926 found a large collection of bronze figurines of this period, in two baked earthen jars at Gebal. The larger jar, with old geometric decoration, seems to be the work of the old Hurrian peoples of Asia Minor. The figurines usually represent a soldier armed with a dagger or lance. Egypt is thus shown in contact with the bronze-manufacturers of northern Armenia and the Caucasus. A royal tomb and sarcophagus, found by Montet at Byblos had vessels with Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions, and others with Cretan, Hittite, Akkadian, and Elamite inscriptions; showing the wide range of the Egyptian-Palestinian trade through the port of Gebal.

The Egypt port was still Zoan. Twelfth Dynasty monarchs enlarged and beautified it. As a "treaty-port," Zoan culture was probably as much mixed as Gebal or Ugarit or New York.

#### 87-b. Akkadian Correspondence with Egypt.

Of the greatest interest and importance is the fact that in an Egyptian literary work from the beginning of this dynasty, the discussion is about the clay tablets which Pharaohs' messengers have carried to and from Asia--inevitably written in the cuneiform Akkadian. The fact, first published by W. Max Müller in his Egyptological Researches, p. 11, is used by Weber in his notes on Knudtzon's El-Amarna Tafeln, p. 1009, which tablets are 600 years later. Now the above Kûrigin Kaleh finds are right in the line of the Akkadian using trading stations of 68-b, and show the line of communication that the Twelfth Dynasty used. And the kings in the later El-Amarna Letters refer to earlier correspondence in their archives.

#### 88. Sesostris I, 1980-1930, Master of Palestine.

His scarabs found at Gezer, Beth-Shean, and elsewhere. Shechem captured. Stele of Sesostris found in northern Syria. Intercourse with the Libyan oases; mines in Sinai. The bard Ipuwer, at this time, chants a Messianic prediction (Barton, 582; Breasted, HAE, 168). Compare Isaiah 9:1-16; 11:1-8. This, like that under Sneferû, 800 years earlier, shows the influence creating Messianic prediction in Palestine, 1300 years before Isaiah's time. Stele found at Gezer. (See Knight, 79-80). His long-lost mortuary chapel recently found at Karnak shows him as greatest of all the Gods! The others humbly visit his cold uncondescending majesty! He is "lord of births," again and again; those desiring children should pray to him. This tremendous inscription stands unrivalled in its expression of the pretensions stated in Sections 77, 86. Who in all Palestine dared disbelieve?—"Heretic!"—Anathema sit!

#### 89. Yahu in Palestine?

The divine name EA (= Ya'u, Ya?) mentioned in Section 83 above is known in Palestine at this time. A seal of the type in use about 1900 B.C. was recently found at Beth-Shean, in the stratum of Amenhotep III (Section 152) who lived five hundred years later. The seal reads "Manum the diviner, servant of EN.KI." We know no more about him and his work. Put En.Ki ("Lord of the Universe") is a regular title of EA. And besides the temple at Eridu, long famous in liturgies recovered, the excavations now going on at Ur have recovered a great temple of EN.KI, placed at the city wall, and forming part of a water-front. It stimulates speculation about Abram and Ur.

#### 90. Amen-em-hat II, 1930-1895.

By diplomacy greatly extends Egyptian influence in Asia. He continues the mining in Sinai. He seizes the old Sumerian fortress of Katna (mentioned in No. 67 above). The old Anatolian population once worshipped a "Great Mistress" at a mighty sacred cedar there; and the Sumerians from Ur, about 2400 B.C. introduced their NIN.E.GAL, "Mistress of the Great House": apparently identifying her with the goddess of the sacred cedar. Amen-em-hat II ingratiates himself with the local cult by placing the sphinx of his daughter Ata there.—Was she to be worshipped as "The Great Mistress"? Pharaoh



steles presented them to the populace as Gods. - (Excavations of Comte Du Mesnil du Buisson).

Amen-em-hat's occupation of Katna means that he had direct communication with the metallurgists of northern Armenia and the Caucasus, with no Sumerian intermediary. It is important to remember that the Sumerians called this region Amurru, or "West-land," which Amurru the Egyptian inscriptions later report as Amor, whence the mistaken "Amorites" in the Old Testament. There was no such tribe, nation, or race: merely "west-land" peoples.

Amen-em-hat's son, Senusert II, is credited with nineteen prosperous years, with no wars. Thus the policy inaugurated by Amen-em-hat I in Syria and Palestine seems to have continued through 130 years.

#### 91. Sesostris III, 1887-1848.

(The great king of Greek legend). Extends Egyptian empire in Syria, pushing into Asia Minor and into the Hittite country. Merely repelling aggression? Herodotus (440 B.C.) tells of seeing his steles of triumph at different points. Beneath pavement of the Egyptian temple at Gebal Montet in 1922 found 100 bronze tongues, 100 pins, many spirals, some girdles; all this choice bronze work is of the type recently found at Kubbān, north of the Black Sea; probably belonged to slaves from there. It proves trade between the Mediterranean coast and south Russia under Egyptian control, between 2000-1800 B.C. (AJA, 1928, 184. For his outstanding career as a conqueror see Knight, 82-85.) Griffith recognizes that Southwest Palestine is now largely Egyptian. But raids beyond Palestine are not of record.

Macalister, excavating Gezer, found a stele of Osiris of this reign, while scarabs of Senusert III were abundant there. An entire cemetery was unearthed there, every burial being thoroughly Egyptian in style. But there was no embalming. Griffith wrote in 1906 (PEFQ, 122) that an Egyptian statuette found, with the stele of Didi-Amen, and the Egyptian cave-burials gave best proof of an entirely new view: "that at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty Southern Palestine, about the coast road to Syria, comprised a settled Egyptian colony or population with Egyptian officials, and keeping up Egyptian customs." But with the new information from Gebal, Ugarit, Katna, and the interior of Palestine, he could say that such trade-posts could be found all along the route, and that at each some of the local population accepted Egyptian burial-customs and gods, as a result of the new policy of Amen-em-hat I.

Senusert III records an attack upon the northern Menthya-Stht? in the Skmm district, together with the wretched Rutennu. This now seems to be the Shechem district, invaded by nomad herdsmen from the Ammon area (see Section 55), seeking better pasturage for their cattle. (Pepi I, 700 years before, Section 74, did not encounter such cattlemen.) Senusert and his general Sebek-Khu drive large numbers of the ravaging cattle into Egypt. Shechem had the experience which later Israel records, (Judg. 6:1-6. Of course such cattlemen were an abomination unto the Egyptians (Gen. 43:32), as to our early Western farmer-settlers. Senusert's stern defensive is one effect of the increasing desiccation of Arabia. Hall (p. 321) comments upon "the almost terrifying severity, even ferocity," of Senusert's face. One who is pushed to swift and terrible decisions may come to look the part. Did Gideon do so? Or his son Abimelech?

Herodotus found a legend that made him a world-conqueror. Robert Eisler (JRAS, 1923, 176-186) showed that this resulted from popular confusion of him with the later Hyksos King Khian whose royal insignia have been found in Crete and Babylonia as well as Egypt. Sesostris was Sen-wsrt: Khian, Swsr-n-Ra ("made mighty by the sungod"). Sesostris had Khian's domains added to his own, by folk-blundering. The like confusion was made for Sesostris II.

#### 92. Amen-em-hat III, IV: 1849-1792. (See Knight, 85-94)

Præminent as a mighty builder. His sway in Palestine and Lebanon seems undisputed; so also his control of the North Phoenician coasts. He provides magnificent sarcophagi and funerary gifts for Gebal Kings. (For details see Olmstead 94-98, and Montet plates. Against Olmstead's "Count of Kupna, see Section 86 and Montet.) Fine Syrian pottery there not found in Egypt till 500 years later. Fine moulded bronze axe



of the Syro-Armenian metallurgists, found in Egypt, far superior to Egyptian copper axes. Syrian settlements in Delta increase. Egypt stays at Byblos, not for Syrian pottery and art, but to keep up direct trade with iron and copper-workers. Serabit inscriptions at Sinai: suspected ancestor of the Phoenician alphabet: made of Egyptian hieratic characters: See Olmstead, 91-93. Heavily discounted by wide differences among scholars, and by the more recent discovery of Hebrew-Phoenician written in a cuneiform alphabet, at Ugarit.

### 93. Minoan Labyrinth--"The Golden Calf."

Hall remarks upon the benignity and wisdom of the face of Amen-em-hat III. His great energy spent itself in beneficence. Art, industry, trade, international amity, sculpture, great agricultural public works, filled his time. The great irrigation works that he originated in connection with the natural reservoir in the Fayyûm, Mai-wer, made a grateful people eventually think the lake called by his name: Mai-Wer = "Waters of Amen-em-hat III": confusing wer with his prae-nomen (Ne)-ma (at)-Ra': so that Herodotus calls him "king Moiris." The Greeks usually turned his prae-nomen into "Lamares." And here he built the famous Labyrinth and his pyramid tomb. Modern research finds that the building of his labyrinth was nearly contemporary with the building of the great Minoan labyrinths of Phaestos and Knossos. But the exact political and religious interrelation we do not know. (Cf. Hall, 321 f; Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca.) Hall calls him the most original king before Ikhn-Aton.

The policy of conferring Egyptian sacred insignia upon petty kinglets as marks of royal favor continues. Among the Egyptian divinities was Hat-Hor, "House of Horus" (the sun): i.e. the sky: the sky-mother. She was conceived as a cow at times, supporting all with her milk: at times identified with Isis, the "All-Mother."

In this connection, the golden pectoral of some Palestinian kinglet is of first importance. It shows figures of Amen-em-hat III caressing the sacred Hat-Hor Cow, and also suckled by her. Parts of a golden statue of this Hat-Hor Cow were also found in the tomb of this unknown Palestinian vassal king: all now in the Oriental Institute, Chicago. It shows one of the ways in which "calf" figures were introduced into Palestinian cultus. But the "riding-ox" storm-cherub (Ps. 18:9f; 80:1; 99:1) is certainly the bull on which Teshub, the Hurrian storm-god stood.

### 94. Ascanian Migration From The Balkans.

About the close of the reign of Amen-em-hat III there was a great new migration of Indo-European folk from South Europe across the Bosphorus, into northwestern Asia Minor. They called themselves Askae, or Askén people (Greek, Askēnos: The Ashkenaz of Gen. 10:3. Cf. LTM.) The divisions were the later Trojans, Phrygians, Bithynians, Pisidians, Mysians or Moschi (the Meshech of the OT). Spreading eastward during the next 1200 years, they were, at times, the real "kings of the Hittites" and of the "Amorites" of the northern Lebanon and of Armenia. Egypt has a powerful new enemy to face in Asia Minor. This element does not soon make itself felt in Palestine. But when it begins to use the stores of iron in northern Asia Minor, Egypt's power will be broken.

### 95. Fall of the Middle Kingdom: No Orderly Records.

Almost nothing remains of Amen-em-hat IV and his sister-successor. (Knight, 92f. is to be rejected.) Then comes obscurity. Of a long list of kings in the Turin papyrus we know nothing. From the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Dynasty, scarcely any king was strong enough to rule both north and south. One fact emerges in the Joseph-stories: the power that held the Eastern Delta governed Palestine, too; and apparently rid both regions of some oppressive proprietors (Gen. 47:13-26). But very recent excavations in south Palestine have swept away all the speculations about the identity of the Hyksos gathered by Knight, pp. 97-101. (See Minoan Outlines, Beth Pelet.) Swarms of Iranian horsemen and "horse-herders" came from central Asia into Asia Minor and south through Palestine.

This Asiatic invasion seems related to the contemporary "Hittite" invasion of Babylonia. It was a "horde-movement," comprising Hebrews and Indo-Iranians, as well as Hittites (Hurrû) and others. (Albright and Dougherty BASOR, Feb. 1926, p. 7.



Also Meyer, earlier. Compare above, Section 87.) Is this a second Hyksos tidal wave? For we now know two Hyksos strata in Palestine, with ashes between them, at some of the points excavated. The Babylonian record of a Hittite invasion at this time could result from the earlier Iranians, absorbed in the Hittite area, descending upon Babylonian from that region. A Hyksos king of Babylonian, Khian, is possible: a granite lion with his praenomen cut upon it was purchased in Bagdad.

#### 96. Hyksos Avaris = Zoan = Tanis = Pi-Rameses

Josephus gives the Hyksos capital as Avaris: which in Egyptian is Het-Uart--so-named in the Egyptian narratives of the expulsion of the Hyksos. Josephus does not suspect its identity with the Zoan of the OT, the Tanis of his own day: the splendid harbor-metropolis which has been before us in these Outlines from predynastic times. Identified with the ruin of Sân el-Hajar, 20 miles west of the Suez Canal, Mariette Bey made a splendid beginning of excavation there; after that the site was abandoned for 50 years. It is now being excavated by Pierre Montet (L'illustration, 10-25-1930). His view was that Zoan was the older name; that the Hyksos named it Het-Uart; that Ramesses II, renovating it centuries later, gave it his own name (Ex. i:8; 37; Num. 33:3, 4). A. H. Gardiner, accepting Montet's identification with the "City of Rameses" in his "Retraction" (JEA, Nov. 1933), points out that Het-Uart was the older name.

#### 97. Hyksos Build Babylonian Ziggurat at Zoan.

Montet's fourth campaign has revealed a great brick pyramid, built in stages in Babylonian style, in the great temple-enclosure of Ramesses II. It seems that Ramesses included it in his mighty works. There is no other such in Egypt. And the foundation-sacrifices found at the corners, like those at Beth-Pelet, and Beth-Eglaim, show the builders to have been Hyksos. Taken with the lion of Khian found at Bagdad, Section 95, it forces the question, How long had these builders been under Babylonian influence? Their temple to the Palestinian goddess Anat Ramesses rebuilt. Then southwest of the great temple-tower was a hitherto unknown sanctuary with columns bearing dedications "to the gods of the city of Rameses." Gardiner (above) finds that the regularly recurring phrase used in connection with objects made for or dedicated to the gods is that used only when such are made for the city where placed; and in consequence concludes that the excavated ruin is the long-lost "Hebrew-oppression City of Rameses."

#### 98. Zoan Secondary to Tell Fara? Chariots Iranian?

Referring to the Minoan Outlines, Sections 39-52, the main capital and necropolis of the Iranian Hyksos was probably at Tell Fara, where 25 royal tombs have been found. Here they controlled a metallurgical district, and the Minoan route to the Red Sea, and horseless and "metal-less" Palestine. Excavations at Ur show that Sumerian royalty there used ox-chariots; ox-wagons are in use in Palestine in Gen. 45:19, 21, 27; 46:5, 6. But Joseph, a Hyksos prime minister has a chariot, (46:29) and in 47:13-17, he takes particular care to get any horses that Egyptians and Palestinians may have secured.

Rosellini had an Egyptian chariot in the Florence Museum analyzed. The woods were stone-oak (Quercus tinctoria), ash (Fraxinus excelsior), and horn-beam (Carpinus orientalis); bindings of white birch bark. Later, elm in place of stone-oak.

Now the tomb of Ken-Amun, chief steward of Amenophis II, has proved to be one of the great tombs of Egypt (SNL, 1-16-1932, 2 pp). Ken-Amun was one of the most boastful of Egypt's great men. In this tomb, 160 years after the expulsion of the Hyksos, Schliemann points to the statement that woods for the royal chariot were brought from the "Divine Land" - from "the hill-country of Naharin" ("Two Rivers" -- the Naharaim of the OT). That means the highlands country reached by passing beyond the Euphrates-Tigris. Feet observes that the horn-beam, ash, and birch are not found south of latitude 40, which is about the latitude of Erzerûm; and that the birch is not found west of Erzerûm; while Schaeffer points out that the chariot was invented in the flat country north of the Caucasus; in the Iranian area called "Scythian" by classic writers. As the analysis of the Egyptian chariot-woods proves that they came from the province south of the Caucasus, which we call Transcaucasia, we have unquestionable evidence as to the earlier relations





and possible provenance of the Hyksos. It is interesting that long after the Hyksos were gone, Egypt got some chariot-woods from the same region. (Peet, OLZ, 1933, cols. 33, 34).

#### 99. Hyksos Dynasty Chronology--Sapor?

Manetho's statement that the Hyksos domination lasted 511 or 510 years, according to Josephus and Julius Africanus, has been rejected. But with 35 Hyksos royal names or tombs already known, reconsideration is imperative. Consider Section 78 again.

In addition to the strongholds noticed in Minoan Outlines consider Kirjath-sepher of Josh. 15:15. It is provisionally identified with Tell Beit-Mirsim, now well-excavated. The old speculation that the name was Semitic and meant "book-town" was rejected long ago. "Sopher" - "officer's town," was more plausible. But Hastings' DB article concludes some foreign name is probable. It now seems possible that the name may have been the Iranian Shapur, Latinized "Sapor." The long Hyksos occupation, divided by a stratum of ashes, suggests a point of strategic importance, with possibly two dynasties. The abundance of peculiar black polished pear-shaped juglets indicate a much longer occupation there than at some other points.

But it remains clear (1) that the Hyksos brought about a great Hurru settlement in Palestine: Thothmes III finds them there, and deportes some (ARE II:420). They were not there earlier: their unique painted pottery of the early time has never been found in Palestine. (2) Since Rameses II centuries later recognized Anat, the Palestinian Queen of Heaven (Jer. 44) as the goddess of Zoan, and one Hyksos governor is Anat-hrty, "Anat is content," it is certain that the Hyksos period brought new gods into Egypt, and that Manetho's portrayal of their contempt and discredit of old Egyptian gods is based on fact.

#### 99-B. No Hyksos "Jacob is God".

One Hyksos king whose name is written with the hieroglyphs Yqb-hr was enthusiastically turned into "Jacob-el" - "Jacob is god," ignoring the guttural h. It is familiar to modern Egyptologists that the name means "(the god) hr protects." A king Yqb-mu is also familiar. Albright reports a scarab of his from the current excavations at Tell Beit-Mirsim (BASOR, 47). How the mu or mn is to be translated is not determined. An Iranian name is suspected: or Yqb Ninni, "my Lady protects."

In the post-Hyksos conquests of Thothmes III, two captured towns in Palestine have been speculatively read as "Jacob-el," supposed to be near Hebron, and "Joseph-el," in the mountains of Ephraim. These also are passé. (Cf. Tomkins, TSBA, IX, 269, 275). The "Jacob-el" might be "Baal protects." (On the whole see Ges.-Buhl, 308-b.)

#### 100. Hyksos Strategic Position - What "Two Strongholds"?

This is the exact translation of Mitsraim, which our AV always translates "Egypt"; scholars have supposed it equivalent to the Egyptian phrase "Two Lands" - the Delta and Upper Egypt; but passages like Is. 11:11, Jer. 44:1 specifying Pathros, "South-land" separately, are against that. The student may overlook the fact that Egypt considered her political area as extending clear across Sinai to Edom; and the great wady that drains Sinai was nahal Mutsri (Josh. 15:4, 47; I Kgs. 8:65; Gen. 15:18). This eastern Mutsri compare with Griffith's recognition that this Southwestern Palestine had become a second Egypt: (Section 91) cf. Gen. 12:10-20. The Hyksos accepted the Minoan commercial strategy: held this agricultural plain for its grain and as a direct route to Red Sea--Indian Ocean trade. Minoan Cretans were in communication with Egypt from predynastic times (Section 45). From their port of Komo they sailed directly south 180 miles to Derna on the Cyrenian Coast: thence they coasted to Egypt. (Palace of Minos, II, 71, 89, and 1, map). "Cretans" of I Sam. 30:14 were colonists in the Beth-Palet region from the earliest times. But the particular Cretans known as Philistines came much later.



# 101. Josephus-Manetho on Hyksos Expulsion.

Read Josephus, "Against Apion" 1:14, 15, 26-29, 34; and 11:2; and Antiquities II: 9, 10. Observe that his account begins after Ahmose I, with the succeeding Amen-ophis I, continues with the Thothmes Pharaohs, and includes Seti I and Rameses II. Is this the "four hundred years" of Gen. 15:13, Acts 7:6? Should several independent groups of refugees from Egypt have settled in Palestine in that time, each with its own tradition of oppression? (2) Is it probable that all Yahu-worshippers left Egypt in a body, at one time? With Hyksos governing both Egypt and Palestine from a base between, were they not an agency for promoting the commingling and fusion of ideals?

# 102. Egyptian Account of Expulsion.

Aahmes I (Son of the Moon), Greek - Amosis, 1580-1557 B.C. seems "the king who knew not Joseph," Ex. 1:8. His capture of Het-Uart (Avaris) and Sharuhen are attested by his naval officer Aahmes, in the sketch of his own achievements. It took six years to capture Sharuhen (Budge 241-254). But of all the other efforts of this Pharaoh in Palestine, the naval officer tells nothing. The Pharaoh records a raid through Zahi. In the nature of the case, the loss of one fortress would not mean the retirement of the Hyksos or of their Hurrian subjects from Palestine. The country would remain much as it was. The account of far more extensive military operations preserved by Josephus-Manetho must certainly be based upon substantial facts. Aahmes I records that after his subjugation of Nubia he had to repel a Hyksos invasion led by Aata.

# 103. Indo-Iranian-Hurrian Palestine.

The actual population of Palestine as affected by the Hyksos period is shown by the Tell el-Amarna Letters, which cover a period from Thothmes III (1500 B.C.) to Amen-ophis IV's death about 1358 B.C. In the letters are 482 personal and gentilic and geographical names. Not more than one-sixth of those connected with Palestine are Semitic (of Hebrew-Arab type). We see over two hundred years (1580-1358) of Egypt's struggle with non-Semitic peoples for the control of Palestine. The Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranic element is large. The Hurrians are prominent invaders; or more exactly, mercenary troops, selling their services to anyone who will pay them, and consequently becoming actual masters of the town they defend. Careless writers have identified them with "Israelite" Hebrews, overlooking the actual spelling Hurri. Hittite documents show that in Mitanni they had Iranian rulers, with Mithra, Varuna, Indra, Nasatya as gods of the court. The Palestine into which Joshua's Israel came was predominantly non-Semitic.

# 104. Egyptian element in Language.

How the Akkadian used in diplomatic and commercial correspondence has been affected is also of interest. Of 1574 words in Ebeling's El-Amarna glossary, he lists 110 as "Canaanite" (Old Hebrew); 74 as Egyptian; 90 as "Mitanni-Hittite" (Hurrian?). And 174 more words he marks as "unknown." How many are Minoan-Cretan no one can say at present. A total of 448 words in the official international Akkadian are local Palestinian terms: almost 30 per cent. We may be certain that the percentage of foreign words in the popular Hebrew of the land would be larger, and that there were groups that spoke only one of the various languages in question: probably some who spoke none of them. And Egyptian idiom in official correspondence is in every Palestinian El-Amarna letter. Miss Freda Behnk (1930) has made a special study of this point. Intending to show how many New-Egyptian grammatical features appeared in this diplomatic Akkadian, she actually shows also elements of ancient Egyptian grammar; and here and there, the proportions of ancient and Neo-Egyptian elements. But that Old Egyptian grammatical features (earlier than 2400 B.C.--see Section 74-b) should persist in Palestinian Akkadian in New Egyptian times means a strong early Egyptian influence on Palestinian speech. (Changed syntax Dr. Behnk does not consider--R.O. Faulkner, JEA, Nov. 1932, p.192). Again, a man with a long staff is the Egyptian hieroglyph for a "Village Chief"; the "great man" of any community. And every city-governor in the Letters is referred to as "The Man of Kinza," the Man of Hazor," etc. So Gen. 42:30:33; 43:3,6,7,11,13,14, Joseph is "the man, the lord of the land." And the Jewish scholar Israel Eitan has recently pointed out that the official term Sar, occurring more than 100 times in the OT for a chief official of any kind is simply the Egyptian official term sr (Minoan Outlines, 76-B). Egypt is stamped in Hebrew official terminology. And Egyptian measures persist in the OT. (Knight, 172-3).



# 105. Hebrews and Israel Not Aramaean!

An outstanding feature of the above is the total absence of any Aramaic elements. The Hebrew spoken in Palestine 2500 B.C. could not have been of Aramaean origin. The Akkadian traders whose language had become a commercial and diplomatic lingua franca had brought in no Aramaic word in the hundreds from Asia Minor contacts. The later Khabirā immigrants in the El-Amarna Letters furnish no trace of Aramaic. The Akkadian scholar of today knows that Ur (Gen. 11:28-31) was not a "Kaldū" town in patriarchal times. No more does Padan-Aram in Gen. 25:20, 28:2-7, prove that the patriarchs were Aramaeans. We have merely the name of the region in the time of Genesis-compilation--as in the case of "Ur of the Chaldees." (We can't write about "Indians from Missouri" or Ontario and use the names those regions bore 2000 years ago!).

# 106. Abram Not Aramaean.

Thirty years ago Hebrew scholars often said that any traces of Aramaic in the Old Testament could be of very early date, and from Northern Palestine. But the above facts and the recent discoveries in North Palestine and at Katna, Hamath, Ugarit, etc. do not find any Aramaean in the region 500 years after the supposed Abraham-Hyksos period. Then the recent excavations in the Harrān-Tell Halāf area find a great Hurrian culture there around 2000-1500 B.C.: Not Aramaean. But an Abram in that area might have been annoyed by Aramaean nomads or brigands.

Now Deut. 26:5 in AV says "an Aramaean ready to perish (or rover, vagabond, roust-about) was my father." But the LXX reads the verb 'Abad as transitive! "My father re-jected the Aramaean!" And Jewish passover-liturgy to this day reads, The Aramaean was destroying my father! (Popular interpretation explains that Laban was destroying Jacob.) Referring the question of the antiquity of the passover liturgy-tradition to Dr. Henry Englander of Hebrew Union College, he sent me the following notes.

"The Targum of Onkelos renders Deut. 26:5, "The Aramaean Sought to destroy my father"--(Ibn Ezra objects: if this were correct, how would you interpret, "And he went down to Egypt"?)--Also the Pre-Talmudic Sifrē and the Aborath Pesikta read the verb 'Abad as transitive." (So Palestine in Jesus' time understood the Aramaean as a historic enemy.)

"Wolf Heidenheim, a distinguished Exegete and grammarian, in his commentary Hab-banath Hammeqēra holds 'abad to be transitive, and that the MT 'abed is not a participle, but an intensive perfect, patterned after the quadriliterals, like Sobēb, and cites such forms as Shōphētah, (Judg. 4:4); Yōdēati (I Sam. 21:2); Zōrēmu, (Ps. 77:17); Yesoēr (Hos. 13:3). This last is very good as it cannot possibly be confused with a possible participle." Heidenheim then understands, "The Aramaean was utterly destroying my father." -- "You have then the support of tradition for your views of the proper interpretation of 'Obēd."

Again, Hosea 12:12 and Amos 9:7 (Kir = Mukayyār = Ur?) contrast Israel and Aram. Whom the Aramaeans were expelling, and at what period, then remain the historic ques-tions.

# 107. Hebrew-Phoenician Writing.

At Bethshemesh a clay tablet, written in same "ink" used in decorating the pottery, was recently found. It is 31 inches by 27; nearly all defaced! Only ten clear letters left: very archaic. It dates from the last years of the Hyksos regime, about 1600 B.C. Its value is, it proves that the pre-Israelite "Hebrews" had a script of their own: using neither Egyptian nor cuneiform of the official Tell El-Amarna letters (beginning about 1500 B.C.). And this was near 400 years before Joshua's "Israel." What local literature existed in that ancient script is as yet unknown. Compare with Section 74: early forms of the Hebrew language were apparent in proper names 1000 years earlier. Now add Dr. Schaeffer's recent discovery at Ugarit; a tablet of accounts of a wool-merchant, about 1400 B.C. The enumeration is made in talents of 3000 shekels. Now the Babylonian talent is 3600 shekels, and Akkadian-speaking traders would naturally use that. But here on the "Phoenician" coast, long before Israel's entrance into Palestine, the 3000-shekel talent of the Tabernacle accounts in Exodus is the standard. We see how deeply rooted in a pre-Israelite past are the institutions of the OT (ILN, 3-3-1934).



# 108. Resuming Pharaoh Succession: Amenophis I.

After Aāhmes I expelled the Hyksos came Amen-hotep I and Thothmes I, 1557-1501 B.C. (Amen-hotep I is the Amenophis of Manetho, in paragraph 101 above.) They claim the conquest of all Syria-Palestine, which the Hyksos had ruled; which is not extending Egypt's Palestinian domain. Amen-hotep I reaches the Euphrates: detailed records lost. He is master of Sinai and Palestine, but begins the long struggle with the Hittite states whose stronghold is the Kadesh and Katna region on the Orontes. Palestine is a great manufacturing district under Egyptian control. (The manufacturing the Hyksos fostered from their Minoan-Philistine base.) See Knight, 128, 143, and 99-B.

# 109. Thothmes I (1539-1514 B.C.) Reached the Euphrates also.

He set up his royal steles there. (See Knight, 129-131.) We see a new foreign policy. The great Twelfth Dynasty policy of peaceful penetration (see Amen-em-hat I again) will not avail in the new age. Powerful and aggressive peoples--Hittites, Hurrians, Iranians--are pushing into Palestine, and Egypt's only defense is a strong counter-offensive. The situation resembles Rome's struggle with remote Germans, Goths, and Vandals. Palestine henceforth will be much in the position of Belgium in Europe: simply the highway for opposing armies. Thothmes I fortifies the great fortress-hill of Beth-Shean, controlling the caravan-ford across the Jordan, south of the Sea of Galilee. He paid no attention to the site of Beth-yerah, on the east side of the Jordan, where the Hyksos had destroyed a great commercial city. The site was too vulnerable. Beth-Shean is held by Egypt till the Philistines seize it about 350 years later. (See I Sam. 31:8 ff.)

# 109-B. Mitanni: A New Rival For Egypt.

The great career of the Egyptian Thothmes III and of some successors has been in some respects inexplicable. Now it is known that a new and powerful political organization appeared when Thothmes III came to the throne. Up to this time there has been no large coordinating political power in Asia Minor, since the rise of the Middle Kingdom. Egypt's commercial enterprises and pioneers in Asia Minor had only to deal with petty states individually; there was no coalition.

But an Iranian adventurer named Saush-shatar shortly after 1500 B.C. makes himself king of the Hurri peoples from the mountains of Assyria to Cilicia, establishing his capital in the strong central area of the Hurri: the Harran region. His capital is built at Waššuganni, on the western headwaters of the Khabur. Assyria is only a vassal-state. Decrees of his are among the new finds at Nuzi. There is no hint of a new conqueror from Persia. He seems a Napoleon arising among Hyksos Iranians long-established in Asia Minor.

In his decisions he calls himself king of the Maitēni - which may be related to the Madai or "Medes" of Assyrian records 700 years later. But the name of his kingdom remains unchanged for the Assyrian King Ashuruballit, a contemporary of Saush-shatar's great-grandson Dushratta. He twice calls the "Maitēni" king the "king of Hani-gal-bat" -- the "Hani-great-land" or great land of the Hani people (EA Letters, 16:21-28). But the gal-bat is of Sumerian dialectic form, and suggests that in earlier times the Sumerians knew the Hurri by the name Hani. A code of laws of the Hani is known in the times of the kings of Nisin in southern Babylonia, about a thousand years before the time of the above Ashur-uballit. But Saush-shatar ignores the Hurri and the age-old name of the land. In his official titles he is simply "king of the Maitēni." (Speiser, JACS, 1929, 269-275).

The student may recognize that the weakness of the new empire is like the weakness of Austria under Francis Joseph, with different peoples and seventeen languages under one ruling family. Without a homogeneous culture, and unified political aspirations, the new empire cannot long cohere. The Hurri will remain the larger element in its population, and always seriously to be reckoned with. But for the Thothmes line, a new conqueror has thrust his way across Northern Syria to the Mediterranean. If not stopped these Iranian Hyksos will push into Egypt again.





# 110. Hatshepsut, 1514-1479. The Elizabeth of Egypt?

Thothmes I in the last years associated his daughter Hatshepsut with him; then about fifteen years of age? She married her half-brother, a physical weakling, known to us as Thothmes II. (See HAE, 214-216) After the death of her husband, the son of an obscure concubine had a claim to the succession, by reason of having married Hatshepsut's daughter. We know him as Thothmes III. His exact relation to Hatshepsut has been debated. Hall (BMG, 338) is hostile. Miss Edwards (Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers) admires. So does Knight, 132-137. Very recent discoveries inject a new element into the debate. Sen-mut, a magnificent architect, was tutor of her daughter, Nafrura, and builder of her great mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri, which she called "Holy of Holies." Sen-mut was her chief supporter, and engineer also: was he more? H. E. Winlock tells the story of the excavation of Sen-mut's own mortuary temple by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Hatshepsut's daughter had no claim to the succession so long as her mother was alive! So Thothmes III had none till Hatshepsut died. And she chose to act as regent with her son-in-law as agent.

Now all the time that Sen-mut was building her mortuary temple, he was building his own splendid one, 100 feet underground, planned like hers, and with his name linked with hers on the magnificent ceiling! But he died first; and orders at once went out to close up the tomb, and to obliterate his face wherever it appeared in the magnificent decorated chamber. Workmen started to wall up the entrance of the tomb--then satisfied themselves with piling rubbish against the door. What does all this mean? Was Sen-mut Hatshepsut's "Leicester"? (Sci. Am., Jan. 1929; ILN, 1-5-1929).

For the study of the Israelite Exodus, Hatshepsut is a supreme interrogation-point. Manetho's account, with Josephus (Ant. II:IX,X) and some Rabbinic legends, and their garbled Moslem adaptation, would make her the queen that adopted Moses. The flight of Moses would then result from the death of Hatshepsut and the immediate revolutionary policy of Thothmes III. Aaron evidently was a refugee with an Edomite clan at Mt. Hor; annexing the Calebites to the Exodus movement: Ex. 4:14, 27; 32:1 ff. Num. 20:22 ff.

It should be said that this view is very old; see Knight, p. 135 ff. It is embodied in the Egyptian names given in rabbinic legends of the story of Moses: a fact not considered in any publication by a modern scholar. The notion that the city called by the name of "Rameses," (Gen. 47:11; Ex. 1; 8; 11:37; Num. 33:3,4) was entirely an Israelite construction has made some modern scholars advocate an exodus in the reign of Rameses II, 1292-1225 B.C. Egyptologists, familiar with the Egyptian royal habit of putting one's own name on some old town, declare the deduction worthless. See Section 68 again.

# 111. Thothmes III - Hatshepsut, 1501-1447 B.C.

Began with an empire reaching northward through Palestine and Lebanon to the Euphrates. The Hittite king of Kadesh incites a revolt of the Palestinian and Syrian states. The campaign against Megiddo says the King of Kadesh has incited revolt among peoples "on the water of Egypt," and Kedu (Cata-onia? northeastern Cilicia) is a Kadesh ally. The factitious kingdom of Mitanni encourages. Twenty years' war conquers all, including the so-called Phoenician coast north to the Gulf of Issus, on which Kedu or Kode lay. The inland strongholds of Katna and Aleppo are seized. He pushes across the Euphrates into Mitanni; sets up a stele there. He claims conquest of Damascus, and of at least nine of the rich cities of the Bashan region. (Maisler, JPOS, 1929, no. 2). A stele in this region and a broken stele found recently on the hill above Capernaum shows him in control of the trade-route from central Palestine to Damascus. His fortresses, steles, and temple found at Beth-Shean, commanding the fords of the Jordan, make the fact clearer. Excavations at Gerar (Gen. 20:1; 26:1) show him in possession of the old Hyksos-Cretan foundries and arsenals (AJA, 1928: 119; ILN, 7-2-1927). Dr. Badé in 1932 found seven of his scarabs at Mizpah, with hundreds of elegant lamps, bowls, oil-flasks, vases, and varied jewelry, showing high culture, great wealth, and Cypriote and Mycenaean commerce. (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 7-31-1932). Northern Hittites court him; he controls the eastern Mediterranean. The Nile swarms with the trade-vessels of the Mediterranean and Black Sea peoples. But Thothmes III has to use the cuneiform script in his diplomatic correspondence with Asiatic powers. That bequest from the Hurrian-Hyksos domination he cannot get rid of. Egypt's artistic hieroglyphs could not be drawn



upon the clay tablets generally used in Asia Minor.

#### 112. The Divine King, Thothmes III.

He carved on a pylon at Karnak in ten rows the names of 270 towns: that he captured (See Tomkins, TSBA IX, 227-229; and Knight, 140-154, who includes many speculations no longer tenable.) It should be remembered that wherever a royal stele is set up, there the Pharaoh must be recognized as a god. It will be a test of loyalty. Other gods may or may not be recognized: the king is one baal that must be. Illiterate Jews migrating into the British mandate of Palestine have been reported as praying at an official notice by the roadside. It is immemorial. And in the El-Amarna Letters a subject must always address the king as a god; a sungod; my divine sun. Such is one dominant religious element of the land in which the Israel of Joshua must settle.

#### 113. Pharaoh Temples and Images.

Especially important are the cases where a Pharaoh founds a town and temple for himself and some Egyptian god, and calls the place by his own name. There are several such mentioned in inscriptions: not certainly identifiable as yet. But Josh. 15:9 has been recognized as "Fountain of Merneptah." Merneptah must have had a shrine and stele there. Thothmes III built one near the south end of Lebanon, and called it by his personal name, "Men-Kheperu, Binder of Barbarians." He is a war-god, for his subjects. Another was built in Zaphi (Coele-Syria?) with a temple to Amun, by his fathers. He recaptured it and restored the Amun temple and worship. Of course his own cultus-stele proclaimed the fact (ARE, II:548 f, 457 f.). He also restored cultus at Gebel. In Naharin he established his cultus at Ikathi near Nii; it was restored by Amen-hotep II. (ARE, II: 787). Spiegelberg (OLZ, Nov. 1931, 1001) holds that the term *ntrw* ("gods") in connection with Pharaoh-names really means their images, reliefs, or likenesses. They were considered magical, living things, distinct from a man through their eternal life. Such images were credited with Palladium powers even in Ptolemaic times (See RHR, 1931, p. 471). Habakkuk 2:19 laughs at this fancy.

#### 114. Yahu and Amun.

Since Amun, Amen, an obscure local god of Thebes, becomes the supreme god with the rise of this Theban Dynasty, it is no trifle that outstanding Egyptologists now believe him identifiable with the Hebrew Yahu. Amun, "The Hidden One," is painted blue: the unseen One of the blue of the skies, the waters, the horizon. Sethe thinks of him as "the creative air-breath; later, 'The Invisible One'." So Sethe would see Egyptian influence in Gen. 1:1,2, and 2:7. (Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Berlin, 1929). Galling does not recognize such a god in primitive times, but that such god was popular before the Genesis-thinking was shaped (Amun und der Gott des Alten Testament; Theol. Bbl., May 1930; 103-105). Neither view will explain the name Yahu. But it is important that Amun and Yahu are thought to have much in common.

But how does the Blue Infinite become identified with the Sungod Ra', as Amen-Ra', with the long-legged Libyan sheep as his sacred animal? In Section 15 we saw that the sun-crowned ram was very old: Palaeolithic? and can recognize him as the horned Jupiter Ammon of the Libyan Oasis of Siwa, in Graeco-Roman times. Frobenius in his Voice of Africa (1913: Vol. I, 204-227) devotes a chapter to the cult of this long-legged African sheep. He is both Storm-god and Sungod. The ram-headed god of the Siwa Oasis was a Sungod. Large rock-paintings south of Oran in Algeria show the ram with necklet insignia, and sundisk, with uraeus-like additions on each side of it. Bertholon found this ram a god in Tunis in pre-Carthage times. The tradition of this ram as a storm and Sungod still survives in Fezzan; and Frobenius finds traces of its spread southwest through African tribes to the Yorubas of the West-Niger coasts. He also notes a tradition that the Egyptian god came in Dynastic times from Siwa.

Now was the ancient Libyan or Berber name for their Sungod similar to the Egyptian name "Amen"? In modern Berber "Amanay" is the general term for "God" (Barth, Vol. 3, p. 750). That has facilitated syncretism with the Hamitic "Amen;" the steps we cannot yet trace. From Ex. 8:26 and Josephus Against Apion, 1:26, the sacred sheep might not be eaten.



#### 115. Hurrian Culture - Mediterranean Guards.

The excavations at Beth-Shean show that Mediterranean mercenaries were being employed by Thothmes III: perhaps Hittite-Hurrian (Khabirû) also. For Syro-Hittite (Hurrian) seals were found in the Mekal temple of Thothmes III, with basalt Nergal-lion panels that show Hurrian artistic influence. Hurrians have trained Palestinian artists. (Cf. Minoan Outlines, Section 83.) And the El-Amarna letters show Thothmes III in correspondence with the Iranian king of the Hurrians of Mitanni, again reminding us that this Iranian Dynasty must have been a Hyksos remnant. Their lost capital of Washshuganni may be that recently discovered at Tell Halaf, Section 69: Barton, p. 62. It is clear that more Hurrian officials and traders are being settled in Palestine. A little later we shall see their Khabirû pioneers wresting the country from Egypt. (Museum Journal, March 1929). Thothmes III says that he presented 1578 Hurrû at different times to the temple of Amon, in Egypt. (ARE, II, 555). This may have carried some more Yahu-worship to Egyptian shrine-centers. (Cf. Sections 83, 89.) The Pharach certainly knew that it meant fusion with some foreign cultus-ideas; he had illustrations of such fact in almost every nome in Egypt. In his 22nd year the old Hyksos stronghold of Sharuhen makes a lone effort to shake off the Egyptian yoke. The "King that knew not Joseph" is counted an oppressor in this center of Hyksos power. Hyksos leaders must have been among the citizens reacting against Egypt: cf. Josephus, Apion, 1:33.

#### 116. Minoan Sea Trade.

The tombs of Men-Kheper-Ra-Senb and of Rekhmara show that the Minoans and Mycenaeans of Thothmes III's time had profited by Egypt's naval weakness in the Hyksos period. They now control the Mediterranean carrying trade. The frescoes on the aforesaid tombs group the Minoans with the people of Kadesh, Gebal-Byblos, the Cilician Coasts, and the Hittites: actually they present the products of those regions, in some cases. Minoan rhytons of the same period have been found on the Pontus coast of the Black Sea. So the Minoans and Mycenaeans are now handling all the coastal trade of Asia Minor, reaching Egypt by that route (Palace of Minos, II: 651, 654 ff. For the term "Mycenaean" see Minoan Outlines, Section 82.)

#### 117. The Rekhmara Inscription.

Describes the mingled Minoan group: "the coming in peace of the Great ones of Keftû, and of the isles in the midst of the Sea." The earlier tomb of Senmut, Section 110, shows a like embassy. But it is notable that no Egyptian art of the period has been found at Knossos. The royal tomb at Isopata, two miles north, had a dozen objects of the Late XVIIIth Dynasty. Half a dozen more from South Crete. But nothing of the first 150 years of the Dynasty. There is a diplomatic break! Egyptian royal gifts probably go to Mycenaean mercenaries. The Minoans came for wheat, and beans. Evans found in the stores at Knossos perfectly good beans, 3300 years old: the same sort that the Nile still exports to Crete. Textiles also were surely purchased by Minoans. But these have decayed.

#### 118. Mycenaeans Not Greek.

The long debate as to the racial identity of the Mycenaeans was partially settled by excavations in the island of Lemnos during 1930-31 (ILN, 3-7-1931). The art proved to perpetuate Minoan traditions of Double Axe and architecture and tomb. The warriors were equipped with double battle-axe and other pre-Hellenic armor. There were later Greek burials, with characteristic Greek equipment of sword and spear. These Mycenaeans did not use the Greek language or alphabet. The non-Greek character of the Lemnians is asserted in Homer's Odyssey, 8:294; "Lemnos, land of the Sintians, men of a barbarous speech." Cf. Iliad, 1:594. Greek punning etymology asserts that Sinties means "destroyers, pirates." (Cf. Liddell and Scott, Lexicon). These Lemnos Mycenaeans had their own mysterious script, and continued to use it down to Persian times. More than 1000 years of Hellenic contacts had not displaced it.

#### 119. Egypt Reaches Mycenae.

Only one Late Minoan II sherd has even been found at Tell El-Amarna. There was a



complete diplomatic break with Crete at least as early as the reign of Thothmes III, with a corresponding influx of Mycenaean-Aegean. Besides many Mycenaean sherds, excavators in 1930-31 cleared one very important estate, the magazines of which proved a very prosperous Mycenaean baker, confectioner and grocer. (Pendlebury, JEA, Nov. 1931, p. 235)

On the other hand, no Egyptian art or wares have been found at Mycenae and the neighboring Argive Heraeum, before the early XVIIIth Dynasty. But a score of objects of that period are known, some bearing the names of Thothmes III, Amenophis II, Amenophis III, when there are none in Crete. (See Pendlebury). Does this mean sudden supremacy in Mycenaean sea-power? Or only that Egyptian ships did not care to go beyond Crete in earlier times? Or, since more than 1500 Egyptian objects have been recovered from Rhodes alone, from every Egyptian period (Pendlebury), had Egypt usually depended upon Rhodes as her point of Mycenaean exchanges? Time will bring the answer. We do not yet know the Egyptian name for Rhodes.

## 120. Mycenaean Port of Entry at Ugarit.

Then the mysterious appearance of abundance of Mycenaean ware in Palestine during the reign of Thothmes III has light thrown upon it by the discovery of a great Mycenaean port, palace, and necropolis at Minet el-Beida, nine miles north of Latakiah, 185 miles north of Tyre, 45 miles south of the later Antioch. (L'illustration, 10-12-1929: ILN, 11-2-1929). Minet el-Beida, "The White Harbor," is a translation of the old Greek name Leukos Limen. The enclosing headland is known as Ras Shamra. The finest Mycenaean art ever discovered has been found there. The great temple is purely Egyptian, with hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls. The divinity was Baal Sapouna (Cf. Baal-Zephon, Ex. 14:9), but is Egyptian in all details. (Cf. Sections 54, 76.) The Egyptian donor is "Mami, Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Treasury." The temple had a school for scribes, with nine languages! Akkadian: Sumerian (for priests and scholars): Egyptian hieroglyphs: Hittite: a new unknown language in a bilingual dictionary--(Sumerian + New - May it prove Minoan! or Mycenaean.) The prominence of Sumerian in this "trade-school" suggests that Ugarit was as important to the ancient Sumerians of 2800 B.C. as their "Amurru" or "Westport" (Arabic Amrit; Amor or Olmstead's map: near Arvad. See Minoan Outlines, Section 35b). It was about 80 miles farther north, and the very nearest point to the "finger tip" of Cyprus, the one great source of copper. That explains Ugarit's commercial importance, and the tradition of untold wealth that lingers about the site (ILN, 3-3-1934). There is a great Mycenaean necropolis: beneath that, one of mixed ethnic elements, and before 2000 B.C. a culture related to the early Hurrian? as noticed in Sections 69, 75. In the new Mycenaean times the rival merchant peoples there were hardly at peace among themselves. A suppliant liturgy recovered three times entreats "Chase away the Didimi! chase away the Hurri! chase away the Hatti! (Hittites) chase away the Alasi! chase away the Subari! (high-landers beyond Armenia); chase away your despoiler!" (Dhorme, RB, 1931, p. 37, 41). The Semitic petitioners were in general disfavor.

## 121. Mycenaean Alliance of Thothmes III.

It is clear then that Thothmes III allied himself with the Mycenaean naval power and began introducing their garrisons as well as trade-colonies into Palestine. The Achaeans, Hittite "Akhkhiyawa" Latin Achivi, Hebrew Khivi, AV "Hivites" of the OT, were prominent among these colonists a little later. This movement continued for about 200 years. It introduced people that are prominent in the Joshua stories, and that became an important element in the political aggregation made by "Israel." Macalister has recognized that certain tombs and structures he found at Gezer were Mycenaean: a gateway found recently at Jerusalem in Mycenaean: and Mycenaean influence seems apparent at Beth-Shean. The Mycenaean are surely in Egyptian and Hebrew records, if we could only identify them.

But as in Section 107 we noticed that Ugarit traders used a talent of 3000 shekels long before the Exodus tabernacle, we must consider Thothmes III a providential agent in turning some currents of Ugarit culture 300 miles southward into Palestine.

## 122. No Tyre and Sidon Yet!

It is timely here to review Section 75. Tyre and Sidon are not yet in Egyptian





inscriptions, after 2000 years of Dynastic records. The ascendancy of these "Phoenicians" will follow the fall of Knossos, near 1200 B.C. and Tyre itself gives the reason. Within 50 years after Thothmes III, Abi-milki, king of Tyre, writes to his overlord, the king of Egypt: "May the king my Lord turn his face to his servants, and give water for his servants to drink, and lumber. For the king my Lord knows that we are situated on the shore of the sea; we have neither water nor timber." (EA Letters 151:37 ff.) Again, "May the king reach his mighty hand to me, to give me water to drink, and wood to warm me!" - - Or, "May the king my Lord turn his face to his servant and give Uzu (village) to his servant, a vessel for food and a cruise for drinking! . . . Let him give Uzu as a drinking vessel to his servant; a place to get wood and straw and clay!" - - "Zimrida (of Sidon) has taken Uzu from thy servant, and we have neither water nor wood, nor a place to lay our dead!" -- So Uzu, the earlier settlement whose people finally took refuge on "the Rock" - (Tsôr = "Tyre") - is necessary to the existence of those on "the Rock," but is exposed to every enemy. Contrast with shipbuilding Gebal where timber could be secured on the coast down to 1850. And Tyre's tiny strip of land could feed but a small population.

It was noticed in Minoan Outlines, Section 83, that the term Kinah-he appears at this time in the Egyptian records, and speculation has connected it with the Greek plural Mu-kenai (Mycenae). But this does not account for the guttural. Rutenny is a favorite term for trans-Jordan Palestine at this time: Hurrû (Kharû in ARE) for part; Kinah-hi, as stated, has a Hurrian suffix, and applies to a coast people from Gebal northward. And Hrozný has identified a Hurrian votive tablet at Ugarit (AfO, Apr. 1932, 118-129), wrongly announced as "Adam and Eve" by Marston.

### 123. The Ugarit Cuneiform Semitic Alphabet.

That was the most surprising discovery at Ugarit. No such alphabet was known to us before. At present the supposition is that it must have been worked out by local scholars: for the idea of an alphabet was never reached by Sumerian or Akkadian scribes. All their cuneiform characters are syllables and ideograms. But these Ugarit scribes had more characters for sounds than Hebrew has: a more perfect vocalization. Where that more perfect alphabet-idea came from we do not know yet. The vocabulary is that of the Old Testament. The sixty Hebrew verbs most used are all in these tablets.

But there are outstanding grammatical differences. The article, regular in Hebrew and Arabic, and rare in all Phoenician texts hitherto known, is not in the Ugarit Hebrew at all! The plural construct, familiar to all readers of the Hebrew OT, does not occur. These features are like Akkadian, and the causative form of the verb is shaphel, not Hiphil, as in OT. The Akkadian optative, and li with the imperative, are regular. It is not possible to make the Ugarit Hebrew the direct ancestor of the OT, or vice versa. (Virolleaud, Syria, 1931, pp. 20-23).

### 124. The Religious Epic - Littarôn the Dreamer.

The religious texts are in the form of a dialogue between the gods and goddesses, and of them with Littarôn ("The Bountiful"?). He consults them when sick, and they answer direct, or by dreams. So he announces when the heavens will rain fatness, and dried valleys grow green. Agricultural interests predominate.

The first ten tablets found were in three columns on each side: total sixty columns. All beginnings being broken, the order of succession can not be determined. More have been found since. (Was the whole intended for dramatic presentation?)

Of the host of gods and goddesses, some have compound attribute-names, like "Right-and-wise." The names El, Allah (Eloah, Elohim), Elim, Ilahat (Allat) feminine of Eloah: Ištar, Astart, Dagan, Yerah (moon); Šapaš (sun) Môt, Ashirat, Baal, Baalat, Yam (sea), Malkum are familiar to OT students. There are many more, of different peoples.

### 125. Resurrection of Aleyân-Baal by Anat.

The gods of central interest are 'Anat of Judges 3:31 (plural 'Anathoth, Jer. 1:1;



1 Kings 21:26; Josh. 21:18, etc.) and 'Aleyân-Baal, who repeatedly dies for men, and is regularly recalled from his tomb by the intervention of his sister. He is slain by Môt, "Death," who seems lord of the harvest-time, and upon whom Anat takes dire vengeance. Dried vegetation is chopped up and burned! While 'Aleyân is dead, El notifies the Lady A-shirat of the Sea to appoint a king. She nominates Ištar-arits to sit on the throne of the north. (A Frost-Lady or Winter-cloud on Mt. Casius)

'Aleyân (read Aleyân, Alēin at first) is regularly addressed as 'Aleyân Ba'al = "Aleyân the Lord," or "Lord 'Aleyân." He is also ba'al 'erets, "lord of the earth," in some passages. He is also Zebûl "Abode" (of waters). Dussaud concludes that 'Aleyân represented the subterranean waters whose springs dry up in the hot summer, (Syria, 1932, p. 96).

126. 'Aleyân is 'Elyôn: Baal of Carmel.

Philo of Byblos has Elioun a chief divinity in the cosmology of Sanchun-Yathon. That name is supposed to be in the compounds Pygmalion, Idalion, Deucalion. Albright also concludes that 'Aleyân is Philo's 'Elyûn, the 'Elyôn of our Hebrew Bible ("Most High" in our AV). He observes that 'Aleyân has paredra - a goddess-comrade called Bêrût, "fountains, freshwater springs." (Cf. the modern city Beirut.) Also that 'Anat is like paredra - which makes her really 'Enât, "fountains." Dussaud's idea, with these, needs the supplementary fact that in the ancient Oriental cosmology subterranean fresh waters and those above the "firmament" are the same! Gen. 1:6 f.

So 'Aleyân-'Elyôn is simply the storm-cloud! A few lines from Albright will suffice.

"Hearken to me, O 'Aleyân Bâal!

Give heed to me, O Rider on the Clouds!"

(Compare 2 Sam. 22: 11 f; 'Elyôn in v. 14.)

"And Ba'al shall utter his voice in the clouds,

His glance in the land of lightning."

(Cf. the "Seven Voices" of Ps. 29.)

"And thou, 'Aleyân, take thy clouds, thy winds, thy snow, thy rain," etc.

And the messenger of 'Aleyân is Rkb rpt = (Rekûb 'arapôt, "Rider of the nimbus-clouds," as in 2 Sam. 22:11. Observe that "cherub" - Kerûb, - is only a metathesis of Rekûb!

Also, Right-and-Wise urges 'Aleyân-Baal to make a lattice in his sanctuaries, a window in his temples. 'Aleyân-Baal refuses. Right-and-Wise, who is a son of the Sea, urges till 'Aleyân-Baal consents to a window in the sanctuaries, a lattice in the temples, a rift in the clouds: cf. 2 Kings 7:21. (JPoS, 1932, 195-208: BASOR, April 1933, 13-20). 'Aleyân-Baal always rises from the dead - where? whence? The raincloud rises from the Sea! Such is the myth. Compare Shelley's "Cloud."

"I am the daughter of earth and water

And the nursling of the sky;

I pass through the pores of the ocean and shores,

I change, but I cannot die

For after the rain, when with never a stain

The pavilion of heaven is bare

And the winds and sunbeams with their convex gleams

Build up the blue dome of air.

I silently laugh at my own cenotaph,

And out of the Caverns of rain,

Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb,

I arise and unbuild it again!

Concluding: Right-and-Wise above urges 'Aleyân-Baal to make windows in his heaven-pavilion. But to induce Right-and-Wise to do this, a bull-Sacrifice is offered before him, as he sits at the right hand of 'Aleyân-Baal. We now see the whole of Elijah's competition at Mt. Carmel to induce the storm-cloud to rise out of the sea! But we do not know why the name Elyôn is in low repute with him. Or has the name Yahu been substituted in the narrative for an original "Elyôn"? or was Elyôn not yet popular?



### 127. El, Elohîm and Yahu at Ugarit.

The noun El is repeatedly used as a term for the principal god. But as long ago pointed out by Meyer and others, there is no trace of monotheism about this. The same mode of reference occurs in other towns, when speaking of their principal god, whose name may be Resheph, or Eshmun, or Dagan, etc. A monotheistic "Elohîst document" would be impossible in such a land. Each town would interpret "El" or "Elohîm" to refer to its own chief god. The chief god at Ugarit was probably Baal-Šapuna (Hebrew, Baal-Zephon: Lord of the North). At first Schaefer thought this the name of the town. But no Šapuna is known in any Egyptian list. The tablets repeatedly speak of the "King of Egrt" -- the Ugarit of the El-Amarna Letters. But since "Baal-Šapuna" occurs in the Egyptian records, in those of the Assyrian Tiglath-Pileser III, and of Esarhaddon, 800 years after Thothmes III, it is probably the name of the temple suburb of the capital city. (Schaefer, *Syria*, 1932, 24-27). The great Storm-god Baal-Zapunu, along with the baal of the heavens and the baal of sailors is invoked in a treaty between the Assyrian Esarhaddon and king Baal of Tyre, to send an evil wind upon the ships of the one who shall break this treaty. So Baal-Zapunu is a Boreas; the Euroklydon or Euraquilo of Acts 27:14 (ARA, II, p. 231; AfO, 1932, p. 33). Baal-Zephon is the Storm-god of Mt. Casius (JPOS, 1932, p. 192; BASOR, no. 49, p. 29).

Second. In recent years we have learned that l is a common ending of Hittite and Hurrian names--e.g. Murshil, Seplél, Barzel, etc. It throws some names ending in el in the OT into question. They may not contain a word for "god" at all.

Third. At Samaria near 30 years ago sherds were recovered with personal names like Gaddi-Yau, Egel-Yau, etc. The finders preferred Gaddi-Yo. Now there is reported from Ugarit a god Yo. It at once throws into question OT names like Yo-hanan, Yo-el, etc. in which Yo was assumed to be a late shortened form of Yahu. Now we find it centuries earlier. Was it the same god as the OT Yo? And is it the same that is shown us 1000 years earlier in the Cappadocian tablets as Ya-šar? (See Section 84.) The question is open. (Bauer, ZATW, 1933, 81-101).

### 128. Sanchun-Yathon Vindicated.

It is impossible here to wade the tangle of ritual, myth, cosmology and cosmogony presented in these tablets. But Philo of Byblos and his account of Sanchun-Yathon's Phoenician cosmology are vindicated. Modern scholars have generally discredited it (See ERE xi, 178). But it is plain that this coast had a highly developed cosmology and liturgic myth and drama centuries before Israel was in Palestine. Determining their interrelations will take years. For reports from Ugarit see *L'illustration*, 10-12-1929; 11-21-1931; Dec. 1931: *Revue Biblique*, Jan. 1931; *Antiquity*, Dec. 1931, 405-414; Gaster, *JRAS*, Oct. 1932, 857-896; Albright, *JPOS*, 1932, 185-208; *BASOR*, Apr. 1933; Schaefer, *Syria*, 1932, 24-27; 1933, 128-151; *Nat. Geog. Mag.* 1933; *ILN*, 2-11-1933; 3-12-1932; Gaster, *AfO*, May, 1933).

### 129. Farewell to Thothmes III.

It will be recognized that we know no such epochal departure in the interrelations of Egypt and Palestine as Thothmes III's alliance with Mycenaeans to hold back Asia Minor enemies, and the establishment of an overland traffic from Ugarit to Central Palestine. Egypt's sea-traffic with Gebal had not involved that. The Mycenaean-Ugarit traffic lasted about 150 years. The exact stage of development of above ideas in Thothmes III's time we cannot determine. But he contributed much to the cultural background of the OT. And as we shall find his grandson Amenophis III putting to the front the goddess Ma'at, "Justice," "Truth," in a way never done before (Hall, 346), we shall wonder if the fact is connected with the Ugarit god "Right-and-Wise" in Section 126, who makes the cosmic powers yield to his insistence. Hall observes that Amenophis III lays stress upon her, The Abstract Truth, in his inscriptions "almost in the style of a Darius denouncing 'the Lie'; and he wonders if this was learned from the Iranian rulers of Mitanni. The Ugarit texts had not then been recovered. How much influence will the Cult of the "Right-and-Wise" gain in Palestine? Or: "Mistress-and-Merciful"? Or "Dawn-and-peace"? (Ps. 30:5).



### 130. The Issue Between Egypt and Mitanni - Hurrian Jews.

Upon the death of Thothmes III there is a general but rather short-lived revolt in Asia. The inciting agent is not the Hittite power to the north of Syria, but the factitious kingdom of Mitanni to the east. The ancient Hurrian people (see Section 69) from the Mediterranean to the Assyrian frontier are under the domination of an Iranian Dynasty, whose capital is about 60 miles east of Harran. The district from Harran west to the Euphrates is "the land of the Hurru" in Mitannian royal letters to be quoted later: and Thothmes III's expeditions across the Euphrates were into the "Land of the Hurru." The Mitannian Dynasty had pushed across Egypt's trade-route to Northern Asia Minor. Thothmes III has cut across Mitanni's trade-route to the Mediterranean.

The hypsicephalic Hurrian somatic type is like no other. Von Luschan portrays it JRAI, 1911; Smithsonian Annual, 1913; it was then supposed to be "Hittite." See first three plates in Godbey "Lost Tribes A Myth" (Olmstead, HSP, 130 f, seems to think this the type of the ruling Iranians instead of the subject Hurrians). But the fact of primal interest for the readers is, that this peculiar Somatic type is supposed, by many ethnologically uninformed people to be "pure Jewish type" - "the Semitic type." Modern ethnologists - particularly Jewish ethnologists - know better. See Chapter VII of Godbey's Lost Tribes A Myth. Only a small minority of modern Jews are of that type. But that this type is coming into Pre-Israelite Palestine to influence thinking and institutions, is of first importance.

### 131. Amen-hotep (1448-1420) and Mitanni.

In the situation described above it will be recognized: (1) That each little state will align itself with Egypt or with Mitanni, in accordance with supposed commercial interest; (2) As commercial interests to the north of the contested trade-route are much more numerous and varied than those to the south, in the long run the north must win; (3) Any coalition or agreement between Egypt and Mitanni will bring the northern powers down upon both of them. Palestine is the "bottle-neck" for all this trade.

Amen-hotep II finds Mitanni moving at once. Every petty city-state influenced by her, revolts. Amen-hotep promptly sweeps northward through the Orontes Valley, Hurru-land (Central Palestine), Upper and Lower Rutennu, (Trans-Jordan). Kadesh on the Orontes, Aleppo, Niy on the Euphrates (a Hurru city), Senzar, Thnu, and Katna are in his list of victories: 24 in all. Some probably submitted without a fight. He crossed the Euphrates at Niy into the Hurru-land of Mitanni, going farther, so he says, than Thothmes III had done. He compelled the royal dynasty of Mitanni to accept his terms. His boasts are substantiated by the fact that Mitanni later negotiates for the return of some captured territory. Renan long ago found Amen-hotep's temple at Gebal-Byblos. Another fortress-temple and relics has been found at Beth-Shean; still another at Tell el-Hesi (the ancient Libnah?). Skeptical attitudes toward his statements do not seem warranted. (Knight, 155-166, wrote before our recent knowledge of the Hurrian powers. His making Amen-hotep the Pharaoh of the Exodus is not conclusive.)

### 131-b. Amen-hotep II and the Sky-Mother Cow.

In 1906 Naville discovered at Deir El-Bahari a gigantic Hathor-cow statue, hewn out of yellow sandstone. A solar disk, flanked by two plumes, stands between the horns. The large vault in which it stood was constructed by Thothmes III, with slabs of sculptured and painted sandstone. Two human figures by the Sky-cow are shown by cartouches on the fore-part of the cow-statue to represent Amen-hotep II. One figure in royal garments stands under the Great Mother's head leaning back in peace against her chest. The other presents the king as naked and child-like, kneeling and sucking. It is the same expression of protection by the All-mother and dependence upon her that we saw Amen-em-hat III distributing in Palestine 400 years before; and Shishak will probably scatter such marks of his favor there 500 years later. See Section 195. We do not admire the symbolism; but then the Egyptian would hardly approve picturing himself as a sheep or a lamb of some guardian power, as we do.

### 132. Thothmes IV (1420-1411) and Mitanni. (Cf. Knight 191-192.)

The significance of his short reign has been underestimated. Knight thinks "the





most outstanding event in his reign was the excavation of the Sphinx from the vast accumulation of sand in which it was embedded!" No one was prepared, in Knight's time, to recognize his revival of an ancient form of the Sun-cult, nor his founding a new capital as its center, nor his continuation of the policy of settling Hurrians in Palestine, and at religious centers in Egypt.

His accession meant the stoppage of tribute from Syria-Naharin; the temper of the new king was being tested. He promptly marched north through Palestine (Kharu in ARE we now know to be Hurru). Through the Orontes Valley, pushed to the Euphrates, and crossed into the Hurru-land of the Mitannian king. These Hurrians do not appear to have seriously opposed him; and that action promptly brought the Mitannian capital to terms! All tribute-paying is re-established. Thothmes returns by coast, visits Gebal, Sidon, and other points, and brings home a ship-load of cedar wood for the sacred barge of Amen at Thebes. And at Thebes he places a colony of Hurru around his own mortuary chapel (ARE, II, 326). As Ea-Sarru, Ia-Sar, is one of the chief divinities of the Mitanni state, such action, like that of his father, gives ground for asking if some Yahu-worship is getting introduced in this way.

Then he insists upon Artatama, the Iranian king of Mitanni, giving him a daughter in marriage. This does not mean amity in our modern sense. Egypt would view such a bride as a sort of hostage for her royal father's good behavior! In the EA Letters are three such Egyptian demands that a powerful foreigner shall surrender his wife. And Egypt proudly refused to send such brides to other courts! (Compare Minoan Outlines, Section 81.) Ps. 45:10 ff. makes radical demands of such foreign bride! But such might rule the court! (1 Kings, 11:1-8; 14:21).

It is noteworthy that the importation of Mycenaean pottery increases. The Ugarit influences would seem to be stronger. Dying in his eighth year during a war with Nubia, he left as one monument the greatest of all obelisks, now standing before the Lateran in Rome.

### 133. Thothmes IV and Hurrian Alliance.

There is such a tangle of misstatement about IkhnAton, or Amen-hotep IV, the Heretic king, grandson of Thothmes IV (no book that can be followed) that a clear statement of certain neglected official records is necessary for the student.

First: Dushratta, a king of Mitanni writes to IkhnAton: "The father of Nimmuria, (Amen-hotep III) sent to my grandfather Artatama, and secured his daughter, sister of my father." The Mitanni name of this wife of Thothmes IV is not given. But her title as Queen of Egypt was Mut-em-wia. Amen-hotep III was her son: half-Iranian (or Hurrian?) by descent.

Then says Dushratta, Amen-hotep III (in second year of his reign) sent to King Shutarna, his mother's brother, for his daughter Gilu-Kheba, whose name acknowledges the Hurrian Queen of Heaven. She was sister of Dushratta. Then in his old age he writes Dushratta for his daughter, Tadu-Kheba, niece of his first wife! (EAL, no. 29). And letter no. 22 acknowledges that Tadu-Kheba was sent; Dushratta greets his daughter as a wife when he sends the goddess Ishtar to the old sick king. It is evidently an Abishag case (1 Kings, 1:2-4; 2:13-22); for Ikhn-Aton marries Tadu-Kheba after the old king's death.

It will be recognized that these women of the Iranic Mithra cult, or Hurrian Teshup and Kheba cult will certainly affect the Egyptian court. (1 Kgs. 11:1 ff.)

### 134. Thothmes IV Revives the Aton Cult.

The Iranian sungod Mithra ("The Friend" = Arabic, El-Khalil!) would predispose such women to some suncult: Ra, Horus, or Aton = an old name for the sun-disk. A granite slab of Thothmes IV announces that the priests of On-Heliopolis were his backers in clearing the sand from the Sphinx for the restoration of the cult of Tmu or Atmu, their preferred sungod. He seems to have parted with the priests of Amun. The Aton-Atmu cult is in mind: the original.

A new scarab of Thothmes IV reads "The princes of Naharin, bearing their gifts,



behold Men-Kheperu-Ra' as he comes forth from his palace. They hear his voice like the voice of the Son of Nut (= thunder). His bow is in his hand like the son of the successor of Shu! If he arouses himself to fight, with Aton before him, he destroys the mountains, trampling down the foreign lands, treading unto Karoy, in order to bring the inhabitants of foreign lands like subjects into the rule of Aton forever." (Alan W. Shorter, JEA, May, 1931, p. 23.)

Thus 40 years before the reign of Ikhn-Aton, Thothmes IV has declared himself for the Aton cult, and announced Aton as his "King of battle." Rib-Addi of Gebal in the EA Letters addresses his Pharaoh "King of battle."

### 135. Thothmes IV Finds Ikhet-Aton.

A fragment found at El-Amarna shows Ikhn-Aton offering "to Aton, dwelling in the house of Men-Kheperu-Ra'," (Thothmes IV) in the house of Aton, in Akhet-Aton. It would seem that Thothmes IV founded that town. (2) The Ushabti figures of Thothmes IV are like those of Ikhn-Aton in bearing only the royal name: no magic. Thothmes IV then originated the departure. (3) Other objects found at El-Amarna belonged to Thothmes IV. (4) And these, like the Ushabti, show new realistic forms. (5) Then Wiedemann showed long ago that a scarab of Thothmes IV proves him the organizer of the Aton cult. He took a special title from it. He made a lake near the town Tarucha, and sailed there in a ship called Aton-tchen. And Aton is mentioned in the tomb-inscription of Cher-u-f, in his reign. (PSBA, 1913, 257 ff.)

### 136. Amen-hotep III Puts Aton-Cult In Nubia.

The Oxford Expedition excavating in Nubia in 1930-31 found the lost capital of Kava, which Amen-hotep III rebuilt, and called Gem-Aton, later Gemp-Aton, "The Aton is founded." Whence it appears that Amen-hotep III was also a promoter of the Aton cult. He must have built the Gem-Aton at Karnak, usually attributed to his son. (Cf. HAE, pp. 267-270.) It is plain that the great body of complaining El-Amarna Letters are addressed to Thothmes IV and his son Amen-hotep III. Ikhn-Aton did not originate the Aton cult, and in his reign he merely reaped the political results of 40 years blundering? by his father and grandfather.

### 137. Thothmes III and the Aton-Cult.

And this royal Aton-cult is foreshadowed, if not fully organized, in the reign of Thothmes III. At his death an officer wrote, "When the sovereign had completed his time of life, loaded with many and perfect years, full of valor, strength and triumph from year 1 to year 54, last day of the month Phamenoth, under the majesty of the King of the South and the North, Men-Kheper-Ra' the justified, he reascended to heaven, united himself to The Solar Disk, and was incorporated with his Creator." (Paul Tresson, RB, 1929, p. 576 f.) Similar Aton-adoration is found in tomb-inscriptions of the period.

### 138. Aton-cult not Monotheism.

The effort to make it appear so is against the records. The Aton-propagandists go right on building temples to other gods. The exalted poetry does not prove monotheism. See Breasted; Barton, 500 ff.; Peet, 64-84. There are passages that speak of many Atons.

But it is seriously suggested that Aton is the original of the honorific address Adon - Adon, "my lord"; found only in Hebrew-Phoenician; in no other Semitic language; hence certainly not Semitic. One who addressed a superior as "My sun" would say "Sham-shi" in Akkadian; but if he used the required Aton, he would say Adon.

But the Aton-cult signally failed, with all its poetic approximations to one God, and its portrayals of his care for all living things. The tombs inspired by the Osiris Cult have their walls covered with scenes of future happiness; the Aton cult offers nothing. The Osiris-cult strengthens moral convictions with its judgments after death. The



Aton-cult might be called Sadduceean; it was silent about the spiritual Hereafter. Moral degeneracy must have resulted from it. (Cf. Shorter, An Introduction to Egyptian Religion, 101-115.)

### 139. Mitanni Cedes Hurru-Land: Regains Asrianni.

A treaty of Dushratta with Amenophis III in his last days (see Section 133) - throws a great light upon Egypto-Hurrian relations of the previous hundred years. In the very long El-Amarna Letter no. 24 (471 lines) Dushratta discusses propositions that have been made in connection with the proposed marriage of his daughter Tadu-khêba to the old Egyptian king. Amenophis seems to want some territorial concession as a supplement to the large dowry Dushratta sends. The latter wants a like concession as "counter-gift." The negotiation centers upon the two cities of Asrianni and Hur-wû-hê. An early proposition is that Tadu-khêba shall have all revenues from these two cities, which Dushratta calls his own. That left the question of subsidies and the maintenance of troops to discuss. The final agreement is, Amenophis shall cede in toto the fortress-city of Asrianni to Dushratta: the latter cede the whole of Hur-wû-hê, "Hurrian-Land", to Egypt. After stating the proposition, Dushratta writes in IV:127 f. of "Dushratta, lord of Hur-wû-hê, Im-mu-ri-i-an lord of Masri" (Amenophis, King of Egypt). And in subsequent negotiations, after the death of Amenophis III, this arrangement is not called in question. But the arrangement acknowledges that Egypt had held the strategic fortress city of Asrianni, and the adjacent Hurrian land, unquestioned since the expedition of Amenophis II? And Dushratta and Amenophis III are pledged to maintain a joint continuous frontier against Hittite aggressions from the north. (Cf. Section 131).

### 140. Asrianni - Osroênê - Edessa - Hurrian Fortress?

Bork, first translator of the above Dushratta letter (MVAG, 1909), now recognizes Asrianna as well-known in old texts: it is the mat Osroênê of later times. The above Hurrian scribe thought mat (land) part of the name, and wrote ma-a-taš-ri-a-an-ni, regularly (AfO, VIII, 6, p. 308). And Hrozny, Dhorme and others recognize Asrianni, or Asri-ani as the Osroênê, or Orrhoênê, of Greek times: Syrian forms Orrhôi, Urhôi. (AfO, 1931: 286-289). But this is the well known mediaeval Edessa, the modern Urfa or Orfa. Hrozny and Dhorme also suspect that Orrhoênê is an adaptation of an old name for "Hurru-land." It may be the point where Thothes III in his thirty-fifth year met the coalition of foes that had troubled him from the time of his first campaign, and routed them. The characters '-r'-y'-n' could be "Arra-yana," or "Urrayana." Bork's cuneiform taš-ri-a-an-ni could also be Ur-ri-a-an-ni.

A glance at a large-scale map will show the significance of Dushratta's rectification of the frontier. From his capital of Waššuganni on the western headwaters of the Khabûr he now had a straight route of his own to the sea, past Asrianni and Aintab to the Gulf of Alexandretta, without having to subsidize conductors or guards. (But he has the Hittite to reckon with!)

On a modern map the student may locate Urfa. The ancient Harrân was only twenty miles southeast, on the upper Balikh. The Mitanni capital Waššuganni was 70 miles east-southeast, near Ras el-Ain, on the western headwaters of the Khabûr. The Euphrates at the ancient Niy is about 85 miles south. Carchemish-Jerablous is about 50 miles southwest. The "Hurru City" of Dushratta's time should be somewhere between the Balikh and Euphrates.

### 141. The "Hurrian Land" in the Harran Area.

In "Minoan Outlines" Section 83 it was pointed out that Hur-wû-hê is now perfectly familiar to scholars as the noun "Hurru" with a genitive ending: the cuneiform mat Hur-wu-u-hê eleven times in above Dushratta letters, is then simply "Land of the Hurru," or "Hurrian Land." The Hurrians were unknown to us in 1915, when Weber and Ebeling edited Knudtzon's El-Amarna Letters: so they speculated upon a possible connection with the Egyptian god Harmachis: (EA Tafeln, 1056).

But the identity of Hur-wû-hê is settled by the Egyptian records. It is the region penetrated when Egyptian kings cross the Euphrates at Niy, or Carchemish or else-



where. For Dushratta no other region is in question. Again, the Hurru (ARE "Kharu") are first mentioned by Thothmes III. In his first campaign Hurru from Naharina have joined the coalition he met at Megiddo. That encounter convinced him that he must push east across the Euphrates. In his old age he pushed into that country and met their coalition at Arrayana? as above. Amen-hotep II, on his first expedition, was warmly welcomed at Niy on the Euphrates and nine days later relieved his beleaguered garrison at Ikathi. The rest of the record is broken, but on his obelisk he is twice hailed as "Conqueror of Hurru." And in his broken list of 24 conquered countries, the Hurru are next after Upper and Lower Rutennu (then eight defaced).

Then Hrozny points out Hattušil III's statement that his grandfather Subbiluliyuma (1390-1360 B.C.) "drove towards the lands of the city Hurru, vanquished the Hurru, and established his frontier south of the city Kinza (Kadesh on Orontes) and the land of the city Amurra." (AfO, June 1929, 92-110). That is driving east, pushing Hurru invaders back across the Euphrates to clear the way south; the same eastward push that Thothmes III made 100 years before. Cavaignac (*Subbiluliyuma et ses Temps*, 1932) says Subbiluliyuma found the whole North Syria again dominated by Hurrian princes and Hurrian troops; a part of Mitanni policy. But there was no consolidated state. Shubbiluliyuma whipped them in detail, and drove them back east. Dussaud concurs.

Then from the treaty of Murshilish II with Kizzuwadna, the inhabitants of Ishuwa-Sophêne, fleeing from the Hittite army, "descended into the lands of the Hurru." (Hrozny, AfO, June 1929) As Ishuwa-Sophêne lies north of the Murad-su-Euphrates, the fugitives cross it. The sum of these passages is that the Hurru lands were within the great loop of the Euphrates. Where was their stronghold?

Thureau-Dangin observes that in the Hittite Texts of Boghaz-keui, "The Land of Mitanni" alternates with "Country of the Hurrites" or "Countries of the Hurru"; which means the same Euphrates loop.

Then the Assyrian Adad-nirari I, about 70 years after Dushratta's treaty with Amenophis III, swept into Mitanni from the north, capturing the capital Ussukani, and Hurra; "the fortress of Sudi, the fortress of Harrân as far as Carchemish." His successor Shalmaneser I uses the same expression; "the stronghold of Sudi, the stronghold of Harrân as far as Carchemish," which asserts that with Ussukani gone, Harrân is the stronghold of the Hurru region. These campaigns cut across the Hurru territory that Dushratta traded off. Hrozny thinks Adad-nirari's Hurra was in the Balikh-Euphrates area.

#### 142. Harrân Immemorially Non-Aramean.

It is to be emphasized that there is no question of any Aramean people or power, in all these records from 1500 B.C. to 1200. Oppenheim, the excavator of Tell-Halaf, finds that an Aramean adventurer Kapara about 1200 B.C. established his capital near the ruins of Waššuganni, the modern Fakheria. But he secured all decorations for his building by digging down into the ruins of the ancient Hurrian capital, whose development began in Neolithic times and continued till about 2000 B.C. The Aramean parvenus had as yet no architectural or art-traditions of their own. (*Syria*, 1932, no. 3). Vincent reviewing Oppenheim's book (RB, July 1932, 476 f.) agrees that there is abundant clumsy copying of Egyptian motifs and others from Asia Minor. The whole Harrân area is immemorially non-Semitic.

It is possible that the Semitic town-name Harrân, Harrânu, is an inevitable Assyrian confusion of an original Hurrânu with har-ra-nu, the Assyrian word for "road" or "cross-roads," since the first character in Hur-ra-nu is also har. The above expressions of Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I would support this. Their references to "the stronghold of Harrân" are the oldest we have.

Taking leave of Dushratta and Amenophis III, it should be clear that with Egypt holding Hurru country between the Balikh and the Euphrates for 100 years, all Hurru settlements in Palestine must have been a part of Egyptian policy. Men whose swords were valuable to other people were equally valuable to the Egyptian. The Hurru who were not willing to defend the Mitanni Dynasty against Thothmes IV make clear Dushratta's willingness to trade off the whole region.





#### 143. The God Ea-Sarru, Ya-Sar as Treaty Guarantor.

In above Dushratta negotiation the great state-gods are thrice invoked. In the first case the Hurrian storm-god Teshup, and his goddess Sauska, the Egyptian Amon, the god Simiké, and Ea-Sarru. In Section 84 we saw Ea-Sarru vocalized as Ya-Sar in old business contracts in Cappadocia. In Dushratta's second invocation, only Simiké, Amon, Ea-Sarri are named; "may they give the victory to Pharaoh and his land - Gods of battle! - In the third invocation, only Teshup and Amon.

With the settlement of Hurrians in Palestine and other Egyptian territory through a hundred years, how much cult of Ea-Sarru or Ya-shar has gone with them? With above victory - invocation, compare the fact that in the Book of Judges Israel calls on Yahu only when it has some hard fighting to do. With the meaning "Ea is king," "Ya is King," compare 1 Sam 8:19; 10:19; 12:2 ff; Yahu has been "King" in battle - now some other leader than a "seer" is wanted; Judg. 8:23 f. holds the same idea. Is the book of Ya-shar in Josh. 10:13; 2 Sam 1:8, the same as the "Book of the wars of Yahu," Num. 21:14? Since treaty-makers must respect each other's gods, Ea-Sarru, Ya-shar, must have official recognition in Amenophis III's court, at least. - Since Abram dwelt for a time in the above "Land of the Hurri" (Harran region), who was he anyhow? Compare Sections 105 and 106 again.

#### 144. Hurrians in El-Amarna Letters.

The Israel of Joshua is found in the Letters by those who confuse the terms "Hebrew" and "Israelite" and do not know that the Hebrew language had been current in Palestine for over 1000 years; see Section 74. The Letters complain of SA.GAZ: often simply GAZ. This is an ideogram well known as meaning "Freebooters, brigands": it has no ethnological significance, and may be contemptuously applied to any people. These "brigands" come down from the north: some are in Hittite employ; some are paid by Mitanni. They demand horses and chariots from their employers; they are not Arabian. Some are hired by the cities to enable them to withstand Egyptian tax-collectors. Others welcome overtures that proffer them aid against the Hittite king. In the badly broken letter No. 56, an Egyptian envoy has been in the Kingdom of Mitanni, and reports that several of the petty kings are ready to join Egyptians against the Hittite king. He means those in the above "Land of the Hurri." The following broken lines concerning "The land of the Hurri" seem to refer to them. Weber in his notes recognizes that the native population of Mitanni are Hurrian, but confuses them with their Iranian rulers (EAL, vol. 2: pp. 1040-1091). Again, Abd-Ashirta, King of Amurru, in Letter 60 writes "All the (subject) kings of the King are employing Hurri troops to wrest the lands out of my hands." That identifies the mercenaries as Hurrians: like the Irish exiles, the sword of this ancient and now shattered people is drawn in every man's quarrel but their own.

#### 145. Hurrians at Ta'anach - Now Tell Ta'anek.

Sellin sunk shafts there many years ago; total excavations amount to one-seventh of the mound-surface. Tablets of the El-Amarna period were found. In these were 58 personal names of which 37 were foreign - not "Hebrew". They were chiefly Hurrian, or Subarean, as the eastern mountain dialect is called. Five were Arabian forms. Some of these names are familiar in the EA letters. Several of the foreign names are neither Hurrian nor Semitic. (Gustavs: 1928: 62 pp. ZDPV). This cross-section suggests that the Semitic element was a small minority in all the restless Palestinian cities. In Section 141 it was pointed out Hurrians from Nahrina were in the coalition Thothmes III met at Megiddo, some three miles from Ta'anach. It is probable that some were already settlers in the Jezreel plain.

#### 146. Iranian Masters: Hurrian Subjects.

In "Minoan Outlines" Section 78, see the large number of Persian or Iranian names surviving in the El-Amarna Palestine, and the unquestionable aloofness of the Hyksos proven by such survival after 300 years or more contact. Add the testimony of the Egyptian reliefs and paintings. Their chariot-driving aristocracy of North Syria are pre-eminent-ly Indo-European. The rank and file are distinctly Hurrian. In various grave-paintings,



as on the chariot of Thothmes IV, or grave-reliefs of Har-em-hab, this sharp distinction appears. It is not in human nature that such official social distinctions can be maintained. A French Revolution is liable. The Iranian Dynasty of Mitanni could never count on the unity or loyalty of Hurrian underlings. They would sell their swords in a better social market. In these Mitanni class-distinctions we probably see one reason for the fall and universal execration of the Hyksos in Egypt.

#### 147. Shubartu Hurrians.

Some El-Amarna passages name Shubartu as one source of these mercenaries. This well-known mountain region north and northwest of Nineveh is the land of the legendary Hurrian founders of Nineveh, Ushpia and Kikia. See Section 69. One Khabûr river is there; see Section 83. Further, recent discoveries by the University of Chicago in the Hittite region of the Cappadocian tablets" reveal the fact that these Akkadian-speaking trade-posts applied the term "Khabirû" to various non-Akkadian peoples of the region. There is nothing "Hebrew" about the term.

#### 148. Palestine cities in El-Amarna Letters.

There has been much exaggeration of their power and activity in Palestine. In Palestine as we understand it, these Biblical places are certainly named: Ajalon, Accho, Askelon, Gaza, Beth-Shean, Gezer, Gath, Lachish, Hazor, Joppa, Keilah, Megiddo, Shechem, Jerusalem, Hannathon; probably Sheriah, Adoraim. Now there is not a single letter or complaint from the majority of these; there is merely the complaint from three or four others that the mercenary troops should not be allowed to occupy them. There is no mention of the Jordan, or of any people east of the Jordan. No peril approaches from that quarter! There is mention of certain cities in Bashan and Northeast toward Damascus making terms with northern immigrants. Mt. Ephraim is still a dense forest; there are no cities there (Joshua 17:14-18). But the silence from the majority of little city-states in Palestine probably means that they do not consider themselves imperiled. Such as are already Hurrian settlements would not protest the arrival of new Hurrian colonists. In Sections 141, 145, it was pointed out that Hurrians were probably colonizing the plain of Jezreel as early as Thothmes III's time. This might easily have occurred in Hyksos times. But it is notable that there is not a single complaint in the Letters from all the region between Shechem and the hills of Galilee.

#### 149. No Mention of Jericho in the Letters.

That is an outstanding feature. Complaint from Jerusalem is voluminous, but mentions only Gezer, Gaza, Askelon, Lachish, Keilah, Gath, Ginti-Karmel, and a Ginti garrison in Beth-shan, as in peril. Shechem has surrendered. And the other correspondence about Shechem also makes no mention of Jericho. Since there are more than 350 Letters the only plausible explanation seems to be that Jericho no longer exists.

Now excavations have proved that Jericho is an ancient site, occupied near 4000 B.C. (Minoan Outlines, Section 25). During the Hyksos period, the city reached its zenith. The earliest scarab found was that of Heteib-ib-Ra, in the XIIIth Dynasty, and a series continued through the Hyksos period. One hundred scarabs of that period were found. Seals with Hyksos names were found in the palace area, and in the twenty-five tombs found 400 yards west of the city-mound, suggesting that several of the Hyksos chieftains resided at Jericho. After the destruction of the city at the overthrow of the Hyksos, it was rebuilt by the Egyptians, and the scarabs continue through the reigns of Hatshepsut, Thothmes III, etc. to Amenophis III. Each local chieftain wore the signet-ring of the contemporary Pharaoh: each was a vassal and agent of the Egyptian government. (N.Y. Times, 1-20-1932). But the new town was much smaller than the Hyksos city.

The finds in the twenty-five princely tombs are unparalleled in Palestinian excavations. One tomb contained over 500 vases. Of 1800 registered objects, 1500 are in good condition, some hundreds without a flaw. The whole Bronze Age is covered, down to 1400 B.C. (Garstang, N.Y. Times, 2-28-1932; Newberry, London Times, 3-28-1932; Glueck, AJA 1933, p. 165).

The great destruction by earthquake and fire came then early in Amenophis III's



time--that is agreed. As above stated, that may be the reason there is no mention of it in correspondence with Jerusalem and Shechem. It was far too important to be unnoticed when a strategic Egyptian outpost. But with Amenophis III approving the migration of Hurrians in one part of his domain to another part, and eventually trading for a whole province of them that he may the better man Palestine against the growing threat of the New Hittite Kingdom of Shubbiluluma, the protest of various Hurriphobes in the letters is quite intelligible.

#### 150. Shechem, Labaya, Hurrians, and Joshua.

No more striking figure appears in the EA letters, than Labaya. In nine letters there are complaints against him as an enemy of the king; yet he is connected with no city; does not appear responsible for any territory. In three letters his sons, who continue his business, are similarly accused. Labaya writes three letters affirming his loyalty. His sons after him write six, of like tenor. Put-khêpa of Jerusalem writes that Labaya and the land of Shechem have given everything to the Khabiû. It is the only time Shechem is named in the Letters. Labaya is eventually killed at the trading-station of Gina, in the plain of Jezreel. (See "Minoan Outlines" Section 74-b.)

Now Labaya is a foreigner, and not an irresponsible "conqueror." He knows he must place his wife or sister in the hands of the government as a hostage, should that be demanded. In 254 he writes "should the king write for my wife (or sister?) would I refuse her?" (cf. Section 132, and Minoan, Section 81). He has never refused any impost or excise, nor any demand of his Egyptian supervisor.

The whole situation in Labaya's time is clarified by a letter of his, published by Sayce the year after Weber and Ebeling's notes on the El-Amarna Letters appeared. (JRAS 1916, p. 253 f.) Knudtzon had not seen it. The disregard of it since Sayce's publication is inexplicable. The letter is in Hittite, as follows:

"To my lord thus says thy servant Labaya. I am thy servant of the land Uan. Seven times seven I make prostrations. To me, Labaya, do not write accusations that thy servant in the matter of thy letter is unfaithful. As for that, I am not at all a support like a footstool for thee! To me, Labaya, then entrust according to the custom of despatch-bearers. What (is proper) for them as service, with regard to letters for messengers, I fulfill.

"As to the letter in question, I have despatched the letters: the one which was given for the Hittite King in the Mountain-land (to) the Sungod (Hittite King) I myself conveyed. As thy present to thee coins in abundance I have despatched; may they be sufficient. Behold me! (N.B.!). Letters to the couriers I have despatched; upon their (receipt?) perform (the request? make reply?). The letters give me for ..... in return ordering thus."

Thus Labbaya (spelt with two b's in the Hittite letters) as a citizen of the district of Uan, which Sayce thinks lay west of Aleppo, reminds the king of Egypt that he is no footstool for Pharaoh. Nor does he seem a Hittite subject. He is head of a great mercantile company of "Sons of Arzawa," as will appear later. His caravan and postal and express service is so well organized that kings are glad to make use of it. It is in this way that his father and grandfather before him have served the Egyptian kings, as he writes in EA Letter 253. (Compare the Egyptian Harkhuf in Section 76.)

A second Hittite letter relative to Labbaya's activities has been before the scholarly world for 40 years, unconsidered (No. 32 of EA Letters). Hrozný discusses the fragment in AO (April 1931, p. 192). The name of the writer and of the addressee are missing; the fragment is part of a several-tablet letter? The writer is probably Tarkhundaraba, King of Arzawa, addressing Amenophis III. Labbaya is mentioned three times; also the fact that he is of the district Uan. The writer had received from Amenophis III a letter through a dispatch-bearer and escort of Labbaya's; Labbaya had orally suggested an alliance of Egypt with the king of Arzawa. But since the matter is not mentioned in the letter received, the king of Arzawa does not credit it. So he asks Pharaoh to write his request, adding that he would welcome the alliance; and in a postscript recommends the scribes at the Egyptian court to write in the Nesian language (Indo-European Hittite); so-called from their capital Neshash (Nyssa?)



The reply to this appears to be the No. 31 of the EA Letters; cf. Sayce, JRAS, 1916, 257 ff. Amenophis III replies to Tarkhundaraba, king of Arzawa, that he is sending his envoy Irsappa with the request, "Deliver thy daughter to be the wife of my sungodship. To him I have entrusted the oil for her head! On thy account I am presenting one brick of gold." A list of presents follows.

For Labbaya the two letters are especially significant. His name is good Hurrian, and Hurrians were once politically dominant in Arzawa, but are so no longer; not since the rise of Mitanni. But as a citizen and powerful express and caravan director he is so powerful and trustworthy at the Arzawa court that kings use him to make cautious unofficial, unrecorded oral investigations; thus they "save their face" as Amenophis III did, getting no written rebuff. This alliance with Arzawa, like that with Mitanni, looks like part of an anti-Hittite coalition. But such intermediary commissions are sure to bring upon Labbaya, from rival traders, the accusation that he is the secret agent of some foreign power (cf. LTM, 141 f.). In such cases sometimes neither he nor the Egyptian court will dare tell the reason of some of his doings. But we see the handicap under which any great foreign-trading company might work in Palestine. Gen. 42: 7-17 places before us Egyptian official attitudes and the personal securities demanded.

Now the "Cappadocian Tablets" of a thousand years earlier show the condition under which such traders operated. Their camps or stations are internally autonomous. They are not trammelled by local customs or traditions. Only when there is friction with some native the adjudication goes to the central government. Local villages cannot accord it. But such concession by the government means concession of the privilege to camp on the royal land in any district. The traders cannot seize property of any native without recompense. In Minoan Outlines, Section 56, we saw midbar land: still "allotable, unappropriated." The "King's land" or "Emir's land," or "prince's land" is still a feature of Oriental communities: Ezek. 45:7-9. "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed" in Josh. 13:1 may mean "much royal land to be had for the asking" in the districts named. (In America we would say "public land.")

Now a notable feature of such "royal land" or "public land" is shown in Ezek. 45: 7-9; it may be part of or contiguous to valuable residence areas. In the OT helqah (AV "portion") usually means a personal allotment; but in 2 Kings 9:36 f. we have "the helqah" of Jezreel: "town property, public common." In 2 Kings 20:34 the royal grant or concession is a part of the city of Damascus: a situation paralleled still in the Orient where whole villages or quarters of certain towns may be owned by the government or by some religious endowment. But such foreign concessions are notable as potential irritations of local communities; these may represent the settlement on local royal lands of cunning foreign traders. For such may soon acquire all the best land of the local communities, while Egyptian government does not recognize "Arab" ownership of desert or "midbar" land (Jarvis, 60-65). Then a trader who has lost a suit against a local community may turn bandit till he recoups himself (Jarvis, 50). Then traders shrewdly locate actual boundaries, to know where they may trade without charge of smuggling, or evasion of local duties, or other misdeeds. (Jarvis, 9). See unmarked boundaries in Deut. 21:1-9. It is thought that Sargon of Akkad in Section 68 made his excursion across Asia Minor and into the Mediterranean arranging better terms for the Akkadian trading posts. So the trading-posts of Achaians, Hurrians, metal-workers (Perizzi), Hittites, Amurru-folk and coast-peoples give Egypt something more than Napoleonic aspirations to think about.--Especially when rival trading-companies take to fighting each other! Consider Gen. 36: for AV "dukes" read "trading-stations": LTM, 101.

Remembering then that the trader on a foreign concession made by Egypt at any Palestinian city is responsible directly to Egypt for his trading-community, he will write as "The Man" of that little post; not as "the King" of a considerable district. His trade-post he will consider a "king's town," and in time of political-social disturbances will anxiously inquire whether the royal concession to him will be continued. Our modern experience with foreign settlements and extra-territoriality clauses enables us to understand that the system could never be popular with the native population, and when Egypt's power was withdrawn, the expulsion of many a foreign trade-post would follow.

A further misapprehension of the situation in the EA Letters is produced by the incessant use of the term Sarru, which has been regularly translated "king." If the





Letters were pure Assyrian, in an Assyrian land, this would be right. But in Section 104 it was pointed out that one-third the vocabulary of the Letters is not Akkadian at all, but of the local Palestinian vernacular; and in Minoan Outlines 76-b Israel Eitan pointed out that one prominent Egyptian feature in the OT is the use of the Egyptian term Sar, in more than 100 passages. If the Egyptian term is in the OT, it certainly is in the EA Letters, as the term for the appointed "governor of a village or town"; and such use emphasizes the persistence of Egyptian authority, instead of being evidence of its overthrow.

We must recognize then that complaints in the EA Letters that all royal lands are getting into the hands of the Khabird may refer in many cases to foreign tradeposts on concessions made by the Pharaoh who naturally makes no reply to local native grumbling, waiting to hear from his official Egyptian "Resident." A find of such "Residents" official correspondence is supremely to be desired. We have one letter important in Labaya's case.

Labaya is such a Hurrian on royal land. In his very courteous letter no. 254, after the humble courtly greetings, he continues, "I have heard the words which the king wrote me. And who am I that the king should lose land on my account?" Apparently there has been a new royal concession. Then after Labaya's death, Put-khêpa of Jerusalem whose Hurrian idioms and glosses in his letters suggests that he is a Hurrian himself, writes "See, Milkilim unceasingly demands land for the sons of Labaya, even the sons of Arzawa, to get possession of the king's land for them! As for the Superintendent who did that thing (made the concession) why does not the king call him to account? (EA Letter 289: 5 ff.) Of course Put-khêpa means that the "Sons of Arzawa" are demanding possession of royal land in the Jerusalem-district, which the Egyptian Resident, Yankhamu, has conceded without consulting him. Being Hurrian himself, his jealousy of the rival "Sons of Arzawa" is quite intelligible. Since Labaya wrote that his father and grandfather had rendered like service to Egypt, it appears that the "Sons of Arzawa" are a powerful trading-corporation, like the "Sons of Egibi" near 1000 years later in Babylonia. Recent discoveries of Hurrian "business adoptions" at Nuzi, at this very time, show us such "Son-Corporations." That the great trading-corporation might seize and sack some "king's land" village that resisted its entrance into the royal concession is clear.

Ere leaving Put-khêpa and his protest, it is important to remember that the Hurrians did get some "King's land" in his district, for garrison purposes. "Gibeon was an important city, as one of the cities of the king-land, and all its men were warriors," (Josh. 10:2). These warriors were "Hurrians" in the LXX of Josh 9:7; 11:19. One who made a treaty with them had to swear by Yahu; and if he broke it, he and his house would be "hanged up unto Yahu," 2 Sam. 21.

But these very Hurrians of Gibeon bring another feature of Labaya's activities before us. It has already been stated that grants of land may be made for a religious endowment. (Cf. Sections 58, 72). Now these Hurrians have a Yahu-sanctuary in Josh. 9:27; in fact, may be in charge of such anywhere, though in the time of the compiler they have to be content with minor positions. But (as above) they give oracles and dictate terms to David, while in 1 Kings 3:5 ff. Solomon knows he must have the backing of the Gibeonite sanctuary. Observe the conference with a treaty in view, between David and Saul's party, was also at Gibeon: 2 Sam. 2:12 ff. We must recognize that Labaya is locating some religious fraternities as well as trading posts. Consider Zakku garrisons, LTM, 122-126.

There is further record of such action as above by Milkilu and Labaya's sons. Addu-karradu, who is apparently in charge at Bihi (Pahel, Greek Pella) writes that "two sons of a man under accusation before the king my lord, the two sons of Labaya, have set their faces to possess the land of the king my lord after their father possessed it. And the king should know that day after day the two sons of Labaya complain about me, 'Why was the city of Gitipadalla which our father received given back to the hand of the king?' (Addu-karradu seems in charge of royal concessions.) And he wants Namiawaza warned that if he comes forward in behalf of the two sons of Labaya he will be accused to the king. Then Milkilu must be warned not to enter the case? in their behalf--but that has happened! . . . And so the desire of Milkilu is set? upon causing the two sons of Labaya to enter the city of Bihi, to possess in succession the land of my lord the king together with them, after Milkilu and Labaya had possessed it." Addu-karradu says the two sons of Labaya (for revenge) tempt him to enter a hostile coalition against the



king--but he will not. "The king my lord I serve, and my brethren who will obey ("listen to") me. But the messenger from Milkilu and the two sons of Labaya does not cease to this day. Milkilu wants to possess the king's land. But I have not changed my mind. I am responsible only to the king my lord, and to the word the king my lord may speak I will hearken."

It seems that Addu-karadu got instructions from the king. For the whole issue is that Labaya died under charges; there had been no formal acquittal. Addu-karadu had accordingly declared his concession forfeited, returned to the royal domain. Labaya's sons are bent on vindicating their father's memory; unless his concession is restored to them, his vindication is not accomplished. But we shall see them restored to royal favor, and the city Bihl apparently in their domain.

It is of primary importance here to point out an error that has beclouded the El-Amarna letters for all translators. In 2Kings 9:36 f was pointed out the noun helgah, "portion, possession;" it is from the verb halag, which with its various derivatives occurs nearly 200 times in the OT, in the sense of "divide, apportion, share, possess." But in Assyrian, starting from the root meaning of "cut up" it has always the evil meaning "destroy, cut to pieces, cause to perish." Now this verb occurs 35 times in the El-Amarna letters. Should its local Palestinian meaning or its historical Assyrian meaning be understood? Notice in Section 104 that nearly one-third the vocabulary in these letters consists of local Palestinian terms. After an Akkadian word a "Hebrew" or "Hittite" translation of it is often thrown in, to make sure of being understood! Yet the translators have treated this every-day Palestinian word as if they were reading pure Assyrian! It is certain that the authors of some letters do not mean to say that the land is being "destroyed" but "divided up" so that the king will have no more land left for settlers. We have seen Amenophis III's policy of promoting Hurrian settlement. That he was systematically ousting from old royal lands the remnants of the old Hyksos-Iranian land-grabbing aristocracy and dividing their holdings among small immigrant-tenants does not seem to have been considered fairly. Joseph is credited with bankrupting Iranian horsemen and land-grabbers, four centuries' earlier, both in Egypt and Palestine: Gen. 47:13-21. Viewed as a sympathetic agent of such plans of the great Egyptian king, with caravans that brought in settlers as well as merchandise, Labaya is our earliest recorded martyr in the cause of a social-economic revolution. Without the great king and Labaya neither Judaism nor Christianity would be just what it is today.

Milkilu's determination to vindicate the reputation of his former business partner may have been in part to a realization that he was in danger of being called to account for complicity in the matter for which Labaya was under investigation when killed. He had some experience with Labaya's rigid honesty in the matter of royal dues. Letter 254 is from Labaya in reply to a royal inquiry about payment of dues. He replies that he is an honest servant of the king, has made no mistake, or revolt, refused no "lordship" dues, withheld no profits due to his Egyptian resident. "They are slandering me, and the king my lord has not allowed me to know the nature of the charge against me. Now this is my error: that I went into the city of Gezer, and said, 'The king has received the total amount (due) from me - but all Milkilu's (dues) - where is that? - I know Milkilu's (spiteful) reaction against me!'"

The custom of purchasing trading-privileges from a king or local chieftain by means of a minpah or costly "introduction fee" is repeatedly before us in the OT, as in 1 Kings 10:25; 2 Kings 20:12. Every modern explorer in Negro Africa has known such demands. There are further exactions from resident traders. Migrating herdsman must purchase pasturage privileges with a minpah, as in Gen. 31:14, 19, 22 f; 33: 10 f. Every temple expects a minpah from a visiting trader! The result of Labaya's remark is that Yankhamu, the Egyptian provincial "collector," demands of Milkilu 2000 shekels of silver as the royal dues and says "give me your wife and children (as security) or I will kill you!" (EAL 270: 9 ff.) But Labaya writes with regard to complaint against himself: "Let the king trust my case to my own supervisor of the welfare of the city" -- that is, Yankhamu. The whole vividly suggests the possibilities in traders' squabbles. Labaya's answer to the king reminds us that many complaints in the Letters to the king are probably sent back to the local Egyptian official. There is no such loss of Egyptian authority in Palestine as has been portrayed.

We next see the treachery that brought Labaya to his death. Put-i-khêba of Jerusalem, already cited as protesting against the "sons of Labaya and the sons of Arzawa" receiving any "King-land" in his district, was one of those who complained that "Labaya



and the people of the land of Shechem had turned everything over to the Khabiru": (Letter 289:22). That is decisive as to Labaya's having a concession there, and having popular support. But tales of evil connected with the procedure set the king of Egypt to investigating; and the same evil details send Labaya after Biridaya of Megiddo. Labaya may have thought him connected with the treachery at Shechem; or he may have been demanding an open trade-road - no toll - from the pass of Megiddo to Beth-shean. Really the two possibilities are one: a "buccaneer" who was trying to shut Labaya out of his favorite trade-route would also attack and destroy Labaya's stations. Of this there is some record. "(Read Baker Pasha's experiences with Arab traders!)"

But Biridiya writes that Labaya has appeared with a hostile force, and he thinks Labaya means to plunder Megiddo.--Has Biridaya aided in plundering Labaya?--Pharaoh, on receipt of Shechem gossip, has sent word to his trusty Zurata at Accho to send Labaya alive to Egypt. Zurata sets out, and on reaching Megiddo finds Biridiya has trapped Labaya. A spotlight on the situation is cast by Bayadi, chieftain of an unknown town (letter broken) who writes the king that "the men who have captured Labaya are enemies of the king and have now attacked and seized all the towns the king put in my own charge," excepting the one he writes from: Letter 237.

Zurata takes Labaya from Biridiya. Not trusting possible enemies on the overland route, he returns northward, intending to send Labaya by ship to Egypt. But at Hannathon (Josh. 19:14) he liberates Labaya and a Shechem chieftain who was with him. Biridiya charges that Zurata was bribed. But two letters, probably written at Hannathon, indicate that Zurata satisfied himself that there was no case against Labaya, and so wrote the king, forwarding the letters of Labaya and the Shechem chief with his own--which is lost. Biridiya learned that Labaya was on his way back to Shechem through the plain of Jezreel, and galloped out with Yashdata to seize him; but they reach Gina only to find that Labaya had been killed there. It must be that the Shechem chieftain was killed at the same time. (Letters 237-248).

This Shechem chieftain lived only six miles southeast of the ancient town. There are four very brief notes from him, (257-260) saying that all the king is doing for his land is very, very good; and that he is cooperating "mightily, mightily," and that (some broken feminine noun) are cooperating "mightily, mightily." And in letter 260 this chieftain, Ba'lu-mehir, concludes, "And I dwell in the fortress of the Tienni region. May the king be thoughtful of his servant!" In No. 284:31 it is "the land Ti-ana," under the Egyptian Supervisor Yankhamu, to whom Labaya is responsible. This is evidently Taanath-Shiloh of Joshua 16:6, known as Thénasa in the LXX, and as Thēna to Eusebius, Jerome, and Ptolemy? (Hastings' DB, IV, 653).

The ridge runs southeast to Shiloh, and the caravan-road crosses the Jordan at the Dumleh ford, at the mouth of the Jabbok. The chieftain's hearty approval of all that had been done must mean what had been done for his own Land of Shechem, and refer to Labaya's activities. He was inevitably one of the "Land of Shechem" that had approved the settlement of Khabiru in the district. It may be that royal land about his own fortress had been conceded as a station for Hurrian caravan guardsmen.

Next, notice that Labaya was vindicated after his death, and his sons did receive his concessions. His son Mut-ba'lu writes letter no. 255. He begins more ceremoniously humble than his father was wont to be. Then "The king has sent Haya to me to say 'Caravans are being sent to Hanigalbat (Mitanni): forward them.' Who am I that I should not forward the caravans of the king my lord? See, Labaya my father served the king his lord, and forwarded all caravans which the king sent to Hanigalbat. Let the king send a caravan to the land of Kara-Duniash (Babylonia), and I will send it through, at top speed." Such convoyers hired large forces of guardsmen! But such trading-corporations might become as conscientious and popular as the East India Company!

"Is Joshua really mentioned in the El-Amarna Letters? -- That question at once brings Mut-Ba'lu's second letter before us. In Addu-karradu's letter already quoted, he seemed to be in charge at Bihil (Pahel, Pella) and Milkilu and the two sons of Labaya kept coming to him urging that they be allowed to resume possession of Labaya's concession. In this new letter Mut-Ba'lu is in possession, but he does not live there; he has placed one of his officials Ayab (Hebrew "Job") in charge of the station, and the Egyptian resident Yankhamu has asked Mut-Ba'lu to send Ayab in for an accounting. Mut-Ba'lu in a personal interview has said that Ayab has run away. Yankhamu does not believe it and has sent a further demand for surrender of Ayab. Mut-Ba'lu then writes



fervidly (Letter 256): "Ayab has run away! The Sar ("Vakeel," camp-commander) of Bihl has run away from the face of his lord the Resident! Sure as the king lives, my lord! Sure as the king lives, my lord, (Gen. 42:15) Ayab is not in Bihl! See! for two months he will enjoy himself (take vacation?) -- Well then, ask Beneni-(ma?) -- Well then, ask Tadual -- Well then, ask Yashuya! -- if he has not since . . . ? gone to the city of Ashtart (Karnaim)!"

Now Yashuya seems a perfectly good Hurrian name! Beneni has been twisted into "Benjamin," in spite of the uncertainty of a final ma! There is nothing in the whole narrative to suggest any connection with the Book of Joshua. All that can be said for either of the persons is that they seem to be official associates of Mut-Ba'lu, and familiar with the matters discussed.

Bihl is evidently a Trans-Jordan caravan-station of "Labaya, Sons and Company." But where is the company headquarters? From what point is Mut-Ba'lu writing? Surely from the "Land of Shechem," since Labaya not only had a royal concession there but full cooperation of the local chieftains in colonizing his caravan "roustabouts" in the "Land of Shechem." Probably Mut-Ba'lu wrote from Tiana, the fortress of chief Ba'lu-mahir, already shown as Labaya's local associate and warm supporter. For Mut-ba'lu continues his letter to Yankhamu thus: "At present all the towns of the Garu (Ghor: the Jordan and beyond) are hostile: Udumu, Aduri, Araru, Meštu, Magdalm, Hinianabi, Zarki, Hawini has been plundered, and Yabishiba. Next, since your tablet to me, I have sent (one) to him. When you have returned (home), from your journey (inspection tour) he will have returned to Bihl, and will hear words (obey orders)!" ("Job" will be before us again!)

Mut-Ba'lu, in short, tells Yankhamu to go home and mind his own business: Mut-Ba'lu will have conditions at the Bihl station reported by Ayab in his own time and way! His statement of hostility to Egypt in caravan-stations beyond the Jordan is probably intended to frighten the Egyptian inspector from attempting any tour in that quarter. Yabi-shiba seems Yabesh-sheba, which substitutes another word for "oath" or "witness" in Gen. 31:47; this then is "Jabesh-Gilead," only three miles from Bihl! If that has been plundered, any timid Egyptian tribute-collector will keep out of the neighborhood! Hawini, 'Avvini', must be one of the 'Avvim posts (See Minoan Section 64); but it cannot be located. But it may be the one in the Jericho district, Josh. 18:23. Adumu is surely Dumieh or Damieh that guards the Jordan ford at the mouth of the Jabbok. (Adummim, seven miles southwest of Jericho, is less probable.) Meštu is Tell el-Mustah, the Biblical Beth-Nimrah in the Ghor, ten miles northeast of Jericho. Zarki is some point on the Jabbok (Wady Zerka); probably the Kulst-ez-Zerka, or Gadda, on its upper headwaters. Aruru is Aroer, still farther up the Jabbok, east of Rabbath Ammon (its predecessor?). Aduri suggests two or three Eder-sites. Edrei, modern Edhra'a, is much too far away: twenty-five miles northeast of Ashtaroth-Karnaim; out of the question in the case of an Egyptian inspector who has been forcefully reminded that Ashtaroth - Karnaim itself - is far outside of his jurisdiction! Adriel, a personal name long afterward associated with Abel-meholah (1 Sam. 18:19) suggests an Eder in that part of the Jordan Valley, some twelve miles northeast of Tienni-Ta'anath; ten miles south-southeast of Bihl, directly on the road up the Jordan valley from Ta'anath to Bihl. Hini-anabi, 'Ainê-Anabê (Hittite form) "fountains of grapes," is probably the Abel-Keramim (meadow of vineyards) of Judg. 11:33, in northern Moab, a day's march south of the Meshtu-Beth-Nimrah station. The whole region is famous for vineyards in Is. 16:6-10. Magdalm, "the forts," is too indefinite for location, but taken with the group it might be the important caravan-station of Mahanaïm, ("the camps". See DB,s.v.) of Gen. 32:2; a great strategic outpost for caravans coming to the Jabbok.

The whole group radiates from the ford of the Jordan at the mouth of the Jabbok, the eastern gateway of the Land of Shechem. It vividly shows why the Land of Shechem welcomed the proposal of the great caravan-merchant, Labaya, to make the Land of Shechem his headquarters. It would make Shechem the emporium for all the trade with the east. For Labaya, it meant prominence on or control of routes to the east and south, out of striking distance of rival "buccaneering" traders in central Palestine, such as Araba have been in modern Africa! And Mut-Ba'lu's letter reminds us that every great caravan director had the problem of maintaining cordial relations with each important station along his routes.

Choice of Shechem Means Jericho Gone! -- Why did not Labaya ask a concession at Jericho? Excavations have proved it a splendid wealthy stone-walled city down to the beginning of the reign of Amenophis III; see Section 149. Yet it is never mentioned in the extant EA Letters. Labaya's associates mention points within ten miles of it.





Labaya, though harassed by those who would shut him out of the Beth-Shean ford, has left no hint of inclination for the plain and ford at Jericho. He asks instead a defensible hill-road, a ford he can control, a town still content with an old Hyksos bank, as we shall see. The only plausible explanation seems to be that Jericho was already destroyed; the little successor of Joshua's days not yet built.

N.B. What did "Job" Lose? -- Above, the plundered station of Yabishiba was shown to be only three miles from Ayab's town of Bihil. Mut-Ba'lu evidently means that Yabishiba was one of his company's stations. Now how much did his man Ayab of Bihil lose in that raid? Had the plundering of Yabi-Shiba anything to do with Ayab's flight to Ashtaroth-Karnaim? Is some reminiscence of the raid preserved in the second chapter of the Book of Job? We cannot answer now. But 150 years later another Egyptian king will push these queries before us again.

#### 150-b. How the Hurrians Got Possession of Shechem.

There are two accounts: the fragmentary one in the EA Letters, and the equally fragmentary one in Gen. 34. But this one gets before us some details of special importance. The trouble was made by some "Hivites" - Achaians; though some LXX MSS have "Hurri." The confusion is clarified in verse 30: the speaker complains that his force is small and that he has become odious to the "coast-traders and metal-workers" (Per-izzl, N.B.: There is no such gentilic name as "Canaanite" in Palestine in all the EA Letters). In verses 10, 31 ff. the newcomers are traders; the Achaians propose to let them trade in the land on such terms that the cattle and other property of the newcomers will eventually become Achaian property. Some sort of trickery is implied in this statement. Then when the city is attacked, the Shechemites do not fight: a detail which is told also in a letter by Labaya. Then in Gen. 49:6 the "Levi crowd" slew men and dug through the town wall; and Labaya tells the same of his men. But digging through a town wall suggests a Hyksos earth-rampart. A tradition of that sort must have come from the times when such still existed. But there is a curious confusion in making a man named "Shechem" conduct the negotiations. Has the collective "Land of Shechem" in Labaya's story become popularized as "a man"? It is important that these parallels were noticed after the Labaya letter was translated. It was not translated to fit the Genesis story.

What was the size of the Achaian settlement at Shechem? It lies upon the surface that it could have been no more than a quarter of the city, or some other concession near. Recent archaeological excavations at Balata, a mile east of Nablous, at the east end of the valley between Ebal and Gerizim, have discovered on the great mound partially blocking the entrance the largest fortified area yet discovered in Palestine: 14 or 15 acres. Correcting the earlier report of Sellin, there was first a brick-walled city, fortified about 2000 B.C. Then a Hyksos earth-wall ran all around enclosing a large area. Much later a great cyclopean stone wall was built outside this, the space between it and the Hyksos fortification being partially filled. (Peter Thomsen, AfO, 1933, p. 338. Cf. Welter, contra Sellin, F. & F., 11-1-1928; 11-10-1928: ILN, 6-18-1932; Sellin, ZDPV, 1926, 304-328). Rude Hyksos scarabs have been found, and a few of the following XVIIIth Dynasty, and some Mycenaean sherds. There was a burning of this latter city, about 1150 B.C.? Long and patient excavation will be required to give minute information. But this Cyclopean wall of the time of the city's greatest prosperity is considered to date about 1350-1300 B.C. That would be a result then of the commercial expansion Labaya gave the Land of Shechem. But for the immediate point before us, for either Jacob's time or Labaya's we deal with the Hyksos-walled town.

Return now to the last Labaya letter, in which he comments rapidly upon a report made to Pharaoh (EAL, 252). As already suggested, it must have been written at Hanna-thon, and accompanied Zurata's report of the statement which Labaya and Ba'lu-mehir made to him. It is by far the most difficult Akkadian letter in the whole collection. There may be some "Arzawa Akkadian," in place of the Palestinian variety. Because it is composed of rapid comment, there has not been agreement as to where a remark of the king ended, or where some sentences end. The following seems the best:

"To the King my lord thus speaks Labaya thy servant. I fall at the feet of my lord. Since you have sent word to me 'Mighty (too violent?) were the people who seized the city'--how could the people be restrained? Because of treachery was the city seized! Should a settled pact be kept sacred? Or should a settled pact be defiled? -- A chief-

Sayce's suggestion that the land of Uana - (wannaš) in Labaya's Hittite letter was somewhere west of Aleppo was made more definite by later discoveries. The letter of the King of Arzawa, read by Hrozny (EAL no. 32) also says that Labaya is of the land U-an-wa-an-na-aš. In JRAS 1927 (p. 708), discussing Moscho-Hittite inscriptions, Sayce notes that Uwiniaš, king of Tyana describes himself as a prince of Vênasa or *Ὀυνάσα*. We-na-Uana-tu, and Uana-tu. His son Tiyas at Ibriz is governor of a Uana-tu-ti province and the name Uana-tu-ti occurs again at Izgin. He observes that the forms mean "vine-land" and "vine-growers": the Romans have reported the people as Vēneti; the Greeks as Eneti and Oūneti. The "Vine-land" is the whole plateau from the south bend of the Halys river southward to the Taurus Mountains. The giant relief of the God of Vineland is given by Garstang, p. 154.

Garstang and Von der Osten have not noticed above geographical data. But the form Uan-wannaš, "Vine-land," survives in the modern Avānos, in the southern-most bend of the Halys River. Von der Osten, in *Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor*, 1929, recognizes that it must be the Roman Vênasa, the great sanctuary of some male divinity, with 1000 hierodules. He has not noticed that Vênasa is the *Ὀυνάσα* of Strabo xii-2:6. The "Zeus" of *Ὀυνάσα* then had 3,000 hierodules. The High-priest had an annual income of fifteen talents from the rental of the temple lands. He held his position for life. He was the most important official in the land, next after the High-Priest of the great Sanctuary at Comana in Cataonia. (See maps.) Which was the Arzawa capital before the rise of Mitanni? Labaya's influence with both Hittite and Arzawa courts seems a logical result of his Uannaš relations.

Second: his seeking a location or concession on the endowment-lands of the Pharaoh (or any other powerful divinity) was natural and inevitable. Every cuneiform scholar knows that no secular tax-collector could enter such lands or make any exactions from the tenants. When Pharaoh's rent was paid, there was no further tax (Gen. 47:18-21). But in such case powerful baron-tenants might defraud the king: note Labaya's criticism of Milki-ilu. For the long survival of the "King's Lands" system in Labaya's country, see Milman's Gibbon, ii, 136 f; or Bury ii, 185 f.

That such cultivation of Pharaoh-lands was the Palestinian situation in the day of Amenophis III is shown by Labaya's bitter enemy, Biridiya of Megiddo. He writes to the Pharaoh that he is having ploughing done in the "King's city" of Shunem, and is taking thither workmen subject to corvée service. (Of course other tenants leasing directly from the king are not subject to such draft.) But other princes with Biridiya are neglecting the king's ploughing. Tenants of Shunem and Megiddo endowment-lands are not subject to corvée by Biridiya: so he is drafting men from Yapu and Nuribda. (Of. 1 S. 8:12 ff; 1 Kings 5:13 ff.) This letter was published by Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1922, 91 ff., and republished with comments by Albrecht Alt, *Palästina Jahrbuch* 1924, 22-41.

We see why tax-free endowment lands would be doubly obnoxious to the tenants of secular lands: (2), why a "baron lessee" might find it dangerous to enforce a corvée for the tilling of royal lands: (3) how a king might be defrauded in the accounting: (4) why Amenophis III would decide that leasing to small tenants, none of whom needed corvée assistance, was in every way preferable. (For the antiquity of such Egyptian endowment see Section 58. In Gen. 23:9, 30, "land possessed by a tomb!")

Third: individual small tenants would not be attracted by the offer of royal land unless assured of fixity of tenure. Rab-shakeh 700 years later breaks Hezekiah's deal with such an offer, 2 K. 18:31f. And acceptance of it by masses of Palestinian poor probably explains the 200,800 that Senacherib claims to have deported. We see the reason "inherited," or inheritable tenure is the dominant idea in the Pentateuch traditions of "settlement-covenant." "Modern France in North Africa has found the transformation of temporary *menzel* ("lodging-place") into an assured inheritable tenure one of its most difficult problems. The reform in modern English "rack-rent" land-laws had to assure "Fair-Rent, Free Sale, and Fixity of Tenure." It seems that Amenophis III and Labaya anticipated the modern English.

Fourth: the apparent military character of Labaya's occupation is unconsciously explained by Governor Jarvis of Sinai (p. 12). The Eastern Roman Empire policed border regions by sending legions of time-expired men with their wives and families to occupy such strategic areas. They got free land for their police-service, and could exact free labor from the natives. Such "soldier-colonists" were seldom Romans, if ever: they were foreign legionaries. The Governor seems unaware that the method is far older than the Roman Empire in the Orient.

tain was with me when the city was seized, 'My God!' shouting. (Probably Ba'lu mehir: compare Judg. 7:18, 20.). I am slandered before my lord the King.—Secondly: when the earth-wall (namlu; Hebrew "Millo"?) was attacked they would not fight, and mighty were the hands of the men who tore it to pieces. For I had been attacked and cut to pieces? (Apportioned?) and my two cities seized.—Again: if you say next, 'Rapine is among themselves - and (of course) they would fight you! Command that they be well-garrisoned!' -- the people who seized the city of my god, causing my father to be reviled, shall certainly be well-guarded!"

It seems certain that Gen. 34 is connected with Labaya's story, but where is Dinah? Labaya says a sacred pact was defiled. The cuneiform scholar knows that in some script Kina might be misread as Dina. But how has Labaya's father become an object of scorn? Labaya had assured the king that in accordance with Egyptian law he was ready to place his sister or wife as a hostage for his own fidelity? Did he do that at Shechem? In any case, it appears that there was no destruction of the great city, but of a community of treacherous rival traders, the Land of Shechem taking sides with Labaya. Labaya, in Semitic script, Lbf, would be easily pronounced "Levi." But Labaya is not travelling about with any father or any brother, or company of brothers. There is no way to get any such "Jacob" out of all the El-Amarna correspondence. No town, people, or person has a name resembling Simeon. But the very common verb samû, "to hear," when used in the sense of "obey," is followed by the preposition ana. It is so used in some passages in the letters considered. It would be very easy for a halting compiler to transform "those who obey Labaya," - Samû-ana Labaya, into "Simeon and Levi."

It seems then that Gen. 34 gives us some good Shechem history of the El-Amarna period, probably supplying a missing fact in the story of Dinah, but blundering in supposing Shechem was a person instead of a land; and because some words in their documents resembled "Simeon and Levi," blundering again in concluding they had a fragment of Patriarchal history. The uncertainty of the compilers is intensified by the fact that in Gen. 48:22, "Shechem" is taken by Jacob with sword and bow, while Acts 7:16 has a place in the land of Shechem bought by Abraham of the "sons of Hamor." But Gen. 33:18 makes Jacob purchase Shalem, east of the city of Shechem, from the Beni-Hamor. The perplexing "father" of this Shechem Achaian colony is not genealogical. The term must mean the official head of the trading station, familiar to us now in the Cappadocian Akkadian tablets as "the father" of the station (Minoan Outlines, Section 80). It is further evidence that the compilers had old Palestinian Akkadian documents which they did not understand very well. (Later variations on the capture of Shechem, in the Book of Jubilees and in the Book of Jasher need not be considered here.) But the erection of an altar on the ceded land at which one "cries O God, my God Yisrael?" (Gen. 33:20) will be before us in Section 179-b. Labaya's complaint that the city of his god had been seized makes us wonder how many such religious colonies he planted.

#### 150-c. Labaya's Levites: Any Others?

It does not seem possible to dissociate Gen. 34 from Labaya's story. But this forces upon us a further question. Gen. 49:7, that adds the detail "they dug through a wall," identifies them with the same Levites who are widely scattered in Israel, who have no part nor lot in it.

That is a status the Hurrians of Gibeon acknowledge in 2 Sam. 21: 2 ff. And Labaya's colonies on king's land instead of tribe-lands meant their having no share in tribal allottings. Sayce, Hrozny and others, have observed that the Luvi "Hittite" found in the Boghaz-keui tablets is much older than the Kanesian, and is the sacred language of old religious rituals. And it has been suggested that Luvi rituals were the original of "Levite" rituals. It is interesting that the Greek regularly writes Leuf for our Levi; so the Hebrew and "old Hittite" name would be pronounced the same way. But Sayce's suggestion pushes Labaya before us again, since, as he was of Arzawa, old Luvi liturgies still must have survived. How many of his colonies were religious communities or fraternities, or brought their native "Levites" with them? That "Yashar," "Yasharru" was known in that region 1000 years before Labaya, and was "official head" of some panthea in his own time, has been shown.

Then in the Levitical cities, "Shechem and its out-stations": Gibeon, Gezer, Taanach, Gath-rimon are known to be points occupied "by Sons of Labaya" - or "Sons or Arzawa" - (Josh 21:17-25). Had Labaya established refugee-stations for persecuted comrades Hurrians?



Then the story in Ex. 32:25-28 of a fanatical action by the bené-Lewi parallel to the action in the Shechem-story is historically inseparable from the above. First of all it puts before us the fact that the bené-Lewi are not a genealogical group, but a fanatical fraternity recruited from among all the tribes of Israel, and that their one preëminent characteristic is their readiness to punish ruthlessly any supposed breach of contract with their Yahu. (See LTM, "Levited unto Yahu.") This is emphasized in Deut. 33:8-11, which contemplates their warlike activities and threatens those that war against them. It is the same attitude that appears in the Hurrians of Gibeon, who demand that any who broke treaty with them shall be "cut to pieces" (AV "hanged") unto Yahu, 2 Sam. 6, 9. Samuel did the same, 1 Sam, 15:33.

The historical inseparability lies in the fact of Amenophis III's treaty with Dushratta which requires the recognition of Ea-Sarru (Ya-Shar) as Hurrian State-god, while Amenophis III colonizes some Hurrians at his own sanctuaries, as well as in Palestine. Petrie calls attention to a statue of the time of Rameses II; the sculptor's name is Yahu-nam, "Yahu Saith." (Yale Review, XIII). The sum is, were the Hurrian Luvi religionists planted in Egypt the same order that Labaya planted in Palestine? One who is disturbed by the suggestion may console himself with the reflection that the Hurrians at least have the face which he imagines to be "the typical Jewish face." But he will have to abandon all fancy of "Semitic" origins, or of an "Ur-indebtedness" to "Semites."

All this is tantalizing; more records are wanted.

#### 151. Political Chronology of the Letters.

Outstanding anti-Egyptian leaders, often professing loyalty, are Abd-Ashirta of the province Amurru, the sons of Abd-Ashirta, and one of them especially: Azirú. A letter from the Hittite king Muršiliš II, son of Shubbilulyuma, long afterward, to his vassal Duppi-Teshup, King of Amurru: "Azirú was thy grandfather, Duppi-Teshup. He rebelled against my father, and my father brought him again into subjection." (Friedrich, Der Alte Orient, XXIV, 3, p. 15 f.) The letter is long. It shows us that Amurru was viewed as a province of the Hittite empire. Abd-Ashirta intrigued for substantial Egyptian support and did not get it. He did not last long. When murdered, his sons carry on till the Hittite king decides in favor of Azirú, who has a very long reign. His negotiations with Egypt were an early episode, that secured him no military support, and failed. Thus Abd-Ashirta letters fall in the reign of Thothmes IV, who never helped Palestine after he left Sidon; nearly all those after the death of Abd-Ashirta are in the correspondence of Amen-hotep III. But few are as late as Ikh-n-Aton. All books making the latter protagonist are to be radically corrected. But some appeals for help against the Hittites may be as late as Tut-ankh-Amen's time. See Section 155.

#### 152. Splendor of Amen-hotep III, 1411-1374 B.C.

His genealogy and marriages have shown his anxiety for Hurrian friendship and at least a complaisance toward Hurrian cults. The shrines of his father and great grandfather had been provided with Hurrian attendants: Sections 132, 115. His early years were stormy. A brilliant minister of the king, Amen-hotep son of Hap, tells how he battled and guarded on all frontiers till about the tenth year of this reign. Perhaps it was during these early years, for which we have no records of military achievements, that Jericho was destroyed. The statement has been made that he never was in Palestine. That will not do. On a scarab in the British Museum he has recorded that he killed 102 lions in Asia during the first ten years of his reign. That means much royal diplomacy and good fellowship. Perhaps his brilliant minister negotiated for some of those hunting parties. Hall credits the king with many peaceful visits in western Asia; which maintained the political status quo. (Hall, 344 f.). He remained, in Arab phrase, "King of the Age"; master of Syria, Bashan, Palestine, Hurri peoples, and is courted by Assyria, and Kassite Kings of Babylonia, and maintains Thothmes III's relations with Mycenae and Aegaeon powers.

It is worth noting that a statuette torso at Saphiré, near Aleppo, of a standing man holding a cup, with long broad Ur-type dagger, has Akkadian inscription on back: "Tagaya has erected a temple to his god Kal-kak-du." The temple is not yet found. (Virolleaud, F & F. 7-10-1930) We have a Hurrian name, Akkadian language, an unknown god,



man in Egyptian guise. Egypt officially dominant.

The actual dominance of Hurrian culture in Central Palestine during the El-Amarna correspondence is proved by the current excavations at Beth-Shean. His fortress and temple there have been excavated. The entrance to his Migdol (fort) is of the same pattern as the entrance of the Hittite citadel at Carchemish, and a bronze figure of the Hurrian storm-god Teshup, with beautiful seals and Hurrian-type bronze axe were in the temple. It proves that the Hurrian settlers are now sufficiently numerous in the neighborhood to strongly affect all local art and architecture. (Museum Journal, March 1929, pp. 45, 63). The Nergal-lion-and-dog panel, the finest yet found in Palestine, (ILN, 12-2-1928), is of Hurrian art, as are the reliefs and lion-figures in Bashan in the same period. (Maisler, JPOS, 1929, no. 2, p. 87.) And Amen-hotep III says of his own great mortuary temple (one of whose colossi became "the vocal Memnon") that he placed colonies of Hurri people about it. (ARE II, 884.) That surely included some Yahwist Hurrians who will be heard from. His diplomacy made his court a sort of a laboratory in comparative religion. In his last feeble days, he welcomed the visit of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh, whom the Assyrian King sent to heal him. It is certain that he would have equally courteous to Ea-Sarru, Ya-shar.

153. Conversely, the attitude of a reflective Egyptian of the period when in Kassite Babylonia is shown by a brick-edge from Badrah, the ancient Dêr, an important frontier post of northeastern Akkad: a strategic point for Elamite caravans or invasions, mentioned seven times between 2700 and 2000 B.C., seven more between 1240 and 640 B.C. A brickedge found there reads "For KA.Dl the Lord of ??? the king of Dêr, his king, Kurigalzu, Shakkanak of Enlil, has restored E-dingal-Kalama, his beloved temple." The god KA.Dl is not yet known. But above the inscription is an Egyptian god with two-plumed wig, the was-scepter, the Ankh, kilt; winged sun? on his breast; and beneath, the solar disk and cerastes. We do not know what god. But some Egyptian saw analogies between KA.Dl and his own god. (Sidney Smith, JEA May 1932, 28-32).

#### 154. Egypt No Consolidator.

The whole administrative failure of Egypt was that her officials were merely tribute-collectors. She could not keep one city from fighting another. She could not be sure that any Egyptian tax-collector forwarded all he collected. She employed mercenary troops herself; if any town wanted a larger garrison, let them employ mercenaries; there were plenty to be had. That this meant that the mercenaries employed would become the real masters of the land was not beyond the political vision of Amen-hotep III. Yet the Letters show that the Kasi troopers which some cities beg to have sent to their aid prove to be marauders in other neighborhoods--probably because they have not received their pay. Or, as Alan Rowe puts it, reporting Amenophis III's temple and Mediterranean mercenaries at Beth-Shan (ILN, 12-2-1928), the soldier always had to live off the country too much. He made things hard for those he was supposed to protect, whenever paymasters made things hard for him. That is an ever-recurrent tale in Oriental politics. Subsidizing marauders instead of fighting them is a perennial oriental experiment. But one must decide which is the most powerful marauder. And such subsidized marauders may not "stay bought." More than once in the EA Letters ransom money is required. But with regard to the above Kashi, Egypt's Nubian mercenaries, Amenophis III saw that employing in Palestine a new powerful people whom he had to sternly control in Nubia (Section 136) might mean Hamitizing Palestine, to Egypt's disadvantage. His treaty with Dushratta and the story of Labaya showed that he deliberately chose to colonize Hurrians in Palestine rather than Hamites. And 700 years later these Hurrians in Palestine will join in rolling back that same Hamitic tidal wave. As for the policy of leaving military colonies to support themselves, see LTM, 132 ff.

#### 155. Shubbilulyuma's New Hittite Empire.

As stated in Section 149, a new empire is in sight. An ancient Indo-European migration had established a kingdom in Southern Asia Minor near 2400 B.C. It passed; a second later wave gains control about 1800 B.C. Now Shubbilulyuma, a very crafty and powerful man, appears, adroitly building a new "Hittite" kingdom. A different language and culture, probably to be called Nesite, thinks Hrozny. (AfO, 1929, 91-110; 1931)





39

Subbilulyuma is in correspondence with Amen-hotep III, whose vigilant diplomacy we have seen keeping peace on every frontier. He writes cordially and sympathetically to his successor IkhnAton upon the latter's accession. Some modern charges of duplicity are based upon a mistaken chronological order of events. Cavaignac (see Section 141) recognizes Mitanni authority had not been able to keep the Hurrian princes of North Syria in order. (Cf. 109-b.) Mitanni had not been able to "make good" on its frontier-rectification with Amenophis III (Section 139). Conversely, Hurrian princes in North Syria, even though appointees of Mitanni, feel that the Saush-shatar dynasty is too feeble to help them.

Cavaignac considers four fervent begging letters addressed to Amenophis III by Katna's Hurrian prince Akizzi (EAL 52-55), and to correlate with the known sack and destruction of Katna, which has been excavated, concludes that it was rebuilt after Shubbilulyuma captured it, and that Akizzi was made the governor of a new town, to which Dussaud replies that the sack of a great sanctuary is final. The inventory tablets of the temple were found scattered about the floor. The temple had never been rebuilt. The destruction of Katna was much later than the time of Amenophis III.

Now Cavaignac concludes that Shubbilulyuma kept quiet in Asia Minor 1375-1378 (Ikhn-Aton's time) and was in Syria-Palestine the next six years, making a treaty with Mattiwaza of Mitanni. That puts the destruction of Katna in Tut-Ankh-Amen's time. The whole illustrates the uncertainty of the exact date of some El-Amarna letters. While some may be as early as Thothmes IV, a few may be as late as Tut-Ankh-Amen. Some pressing appeals to Amenophis III, like Akizzi's, may have occasioned the frontier-rectification with Dushratta, making him hold the Hittite back for a time.

In the treaty between Shubbilulyuma and the Mitannian king Mattiwaza, a little later, the latter names E-a-Sharru as a chief one among 30 gods invoked, grouping him with the Egyptian Amon and the supreme Hittite gods, as Dushratta had done, when dealing with Amenophis III. So E-a-Sharru certainly had a strong Hurrian following. (Cf. Sections 83, 84, 143).

#### 156. Amen-hotep IV, "The Heretic King," 1375-1358 B.C.


He was coregent with his father during his father's last years. It was shown in Section 136 that Amenophis III had gone far in his restoration of the ancient Aton-cult. The competition of other cults at this court had not changed this preference. His coregent son necessarily heard much of his failing father's final religious convictions. Hall has probably given the key to the final choice among the clashing cults, in Amenophis III's incessant emphasis upon "the law," "The Right," "Justice," "Truth," (Section 129.) The Aton-Cult, long-forgotten, was not loaded with the animal-incarnations and unscrupulous politics and deliberate impostures of the popular cults. The old king's choice did not mean that he found The Right, The Truth, embodied in the Aton-cult, but that he had not found them embodied in the other cultus-organizations; and least of all in the powerful and unscrupulous Amen-priesthood. Ugarit thinkers asserted the final supremacy of the "Right-and-Wise." Why should not the king himself become the embodiment of "Right-and-Wise?" (Cf. Hall 356.)

But the young man Amenophis IV does not at once come to an open break with the Amen-priesthood. When he withdraws to the little Ikhet-Aton begun by Thothmes IV, he may be dreaming of an ideal society there: cf. an Israelite dreamer 750 years later: Jer. 9:1-5. So he announces himself as Ikhn-n-Aton - "The living Image of Aton," only to find that women's quarrels can make a monkey of him and his Utopia. He reaps the political sowing of his fathers. All the administrative shortcomings charged against him in some books are really spread through a period that includes nearly 50 years before him. No attempts at conquest are recorded. The enlarging of his city Akhet-Aton is the chief activity. The powerful Shubbilulyuma courteously writes him at his accession, but continues to plant Hurrian guardsmen in Syria, upon occasion. The policy resembles Anglo-Saxon "conquest by pioneer settlements." Judges 1:8 may recall a Hurrian seizure of Jerusalem; which David captured later, 2 Sam. 5:6-9.

#### 157. Ikhn-Aton Reverts to Third Dynasty Regalia.

His official appearance in a flowing robe girt about the breasts (a "Mother Hubbard") made him an object of ridicule, for that was no part of masculine attire under



the New Empire. Some modern writers have thought it an assumed feminine role. Yet this robe, with hanging band-ends  remains an element of royal array. In religious reliefs, Ikhn-Aton and wife are shown in long transparent robes, hung from the shoulders and open in front, so that they would appear naked before the god. The religious reasons are not known (Moret, L'Egypt Pharaonique, p. 432). Sometimes this gauzy mantle was worn over the severely simple traditional royal costume. But it remained the regal distinction, because the flowing elegance at once distinguished royalty from the subjects. Tut-ankh-Amen continued the practice. Seti I would not wear it. But in his tomb in the valley of kings, where received by the great gods, he is so arrayed. And a votive schist statuette presents him the same way. But The Ramessides parade it upon every possible occasion. (E. Drioton, Revue Biblique, July, 1933.)

But such regalia dates from the Third Dynasty. King Khasekhemui is shown, by a sitting statue, with flowing robe over his shoulders - crossing on the breast and hanging in folds to mid-shin. Chephren is similarly arrayed. Prince Hem-On, early Fourth, has the robe girt under the breasts, and flowing to the knees. The same is shown in a number of other statues of the period. (Real-Lexicon, vol. 7, plates 118, 119, 120, 123, 124).

Since Ikhn-Aton adopted the regalia of the ancient days of the Aton Cult was he not trying to revive all of the royal pretensions to divinity that distinguished the Fourth Dynasty? Cf. Sections 63, 77. His diplomat father had more sense. Would diplomatic visits to other courts have cured Ikhn-Aton?

158. Recent excavations at El Amarna have revealed the fact that Ikhn-Aton never reached his own royal tomb. Fragments of his sarcophagus were found, and part of the magnificent Canopic chest for his viscera. But it had never been used! Mob fury had wrecked the whole tomb before he was embalmed (London Times, 2-8-1932, p. 11). Did he perish in that riot? Was the mob frenzied by the excessive adulation which Atonism demanded for Aton's earthly incarnation? Or was it wearied with the strangling of its own hopes for the Hereafter? Or was it roused by the logical indifference to all ethical-social-official obligations? The reactionary regime had to give special attention to such oppression. (Consider Section 138 again, with Shorter's book; and Section 162.)

North of the tomb-temple was a large house, with a bridge over the road leading to the main temple; and a terraced garden with a private entrance to the temple. It appears that Ikhn-Aton did not use the public highway to his temple. Cf. 2 K, 10:5.

#### 159. Nefertiti Repudiated.

Linked with the above in some way is the wrecking of the tomb of Ikhn-Aton's queen Nefertiti, who had fallen from power two years before the king's death, and her name erased from the monuments and replaced by that of her eldest daughter, Merit-Aten, and her husband Smenkh-Ka-Ra'. Nefertiti seems to have retired to a palace in the north part of the city, with the prince later known as Tut-ankh-Amen. Many caricatures of Ikhn-Aton as a monkey were found in the palace. There was plainly a family quarrel over a proposed reconciliation with the priests of Thebes. It seems that her body was dragged from its sarcophagus and torn to pieces. Of the ancestry and antecedents of this idealist? queen nothing is known. (Pendlebury, N.Y. Times, 3-20-1932).

#### 160. Smenkh-Ka-Ra' and Merit-Aten.

A hydro-cephalic mummy found in the tomb of Queen Tyi 25 years ago has been assumed to be that of Ikhn-Aton; and some writers have made the hydrocephalic condition explain Ikhn-Aton's supposed vagaries. But the removal of all royal mummies to the mausoleum of Zaghlul Pasha in 1931 brought from the authorities the statement that the mummy of Ikhn-Aton had been put in the wrong coffin 25 years before, and no one knows now where it was; (London Times, 12-8-1931.) and the excavators at Tell-El Amarna announced that the hydrocephalic mummy found in the tomb of queen Tyi was that of Smenkh-Ka-Ra'. (N.Y. Times, 1-29-1932). As above, he and his wife were protagonists (or figure-heads?) in the reconciliation with the Theban priesthood, and Tut-ankh-Aton who married Ankh-essen-p-Aton, a younger daughter of Ikhn-Aton, merely closed the episode,



changing their names to Tut-ankh-Amen and Ankhesen-p-Amen. (Walter Wolf, OLZ, Nov. 1931: 1001-)

#### 161. Tut-Ankh-Aton becomes Tut-Ankh-Amen.

Nothing is recorded of military achievements in his few years. See Section 155 again. His parentage is not certain. He has been supposed to be the posthumous son of Amenophis III, and therefore his wife was his niece. But recent discoveries make that doubtful; see next section.

His fame in our day is due to the fact that his tomb, discovered by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon, is the only unplundered tomb ever found. See ILN through several years for pictures of treasures. But the beautiful and forceful queen of Amenophis III, Tyi (Teie) had her cherished memorial among those treasures. A plaited lock of her auburn hair was found, encased or "nested" in a series of "anthropoid" coffins: the outer one 30 inches long, the third one only 8-1/2 inches. The fourth containing the plait of hair, smaller still, was inscribed "The Great Hereditary Princess, The great Royal wife, The Lady of Two Lands, Tyi."

Still more: in the second coffin was a little golden statuette of Amenophis III sitting upon his heels, suspended on the golden chain which Tyi wore about her neck as a token of their mutual affection. These memorials of an undying tenderness received royal burial with the last of the Amenophis line. (ILN 7-7-1928; 1 page statement; 3 of pictures).

#### 162. Ay (Eye) and Ankhesenp-Amen.

How came this person, not of royal lineage, to the throne after Tut-ankh-amen? The answer has been recently found. Amen-hotep I<sup>M</sup> had four daughters and no son. Amen-hotep I<sup>M</sup> was succeeded by husbands of the princess-heirs-apparent. It has long been known that Ay was husband of Tyi, Ikhn-Aton's nurse, and that he was a priest of Amen, who became successively Master of Horse, Royal Scribe, Grand Vizier, etc. Thus an Amen-priest is in a controlling position through several reigns. Tyi is entitled "Great Nurse": "Nurse of the Great King's wife, Nefertiti;" "Tutress of the Goddess" (= Queen); and "King's Concubine" -- when Ay became King.

But Ay became King because upon Tut-ankh-Amen's death he married the widow, Ankhesen-p-Amen, oldest surviving daughter of Ikhn-Aton. This is shown by the bezel on a blueglass finger-ring. Blanchard of Cairo recovered it from some unknown site in the Delta. The prenomen of Ay and the name Ankhesen-p-Amen are written side by side in cartouches, without titles. Their allied royalty is proven.

There is the further fact that Ay had borne through many years the title "Father of the God" - Pharaoh. Was he the actual father of Smenkh-ka-Ra and Tutankh-Amen? He was Grand Vizier when the latter died. (Newberry, JEA, May 1932, 50-52).

#### 163. Palestine City-States Independent.

The El-Amarna letters show that each tiny Palestinian city-state or township was inclined to independent action in dealing with the invading Hurrian Khabirû. There was no concerted or confederated action, no unifying principle, social or religious. There is neither a welding into one political organization, nor a loss of all by Egypt. It seems to reflect Aryan or Hellenic petty "castle-barons." Despite Ikhn-Aton's debated politics, at any time between 1500-1180 any immigrant Israelites had to settle in an Egypt-ruled and influenced Palestine. From this point on we watch for a time when Joshua's Israel could enter Palestine.

#### 164. Harm-hab, 1350-1315 B.C.

He had served with distinction in Asia, evidently under Ikhn-Aton; he was chosen to restore the old religious order in Egypt, and campaigned to Nubia. It does not mean a great victory for the Amen-Ra 'Fraternity.' But the old soldier knows that the Hit-



tites now hold Syria and Galilee because women's quarrels at Ikhet-Aton had paralyzed administrative action. And the Theban aristocracy had organization. But for some twenty-five years they had illustrated the proverb about "an army of lions with an ass for a leader." The "lion-aristocracy" had learned a little, too. And Har-em-hab could now use their organization. Egypt still held the Sea-board as far as Gebal. Tyre was still complaining. Beth-shean and other Palestinian fortress-points were still Egyptian.

But the old soldier knew very well why many a Palestinian or Syrian town had begged for Hittite intervention. The cherished ideals of Amenophis III concerning the Right, The Truth, The Just had not been lost upon him. If the Aton-cult had failed to create a community of "ideal people" for Egypt's enlightenment, it was still possible to establish a community of people who were not "ideal people," as a perpetual object-lesson! If the Aton-cult left some officials with a conviction that there was no Here-after beyond the grave, it was possible to convince them of a continuous damnation here! Semitic "excommunication" from family or village or clan only sent to live with the next neighbor; and Egypt had known through millenniums that hundreds who came from Arabia to her frontiers were disreputable excommunicates.

So the old soldier erects a colony-monument for the immortal dreams of Amenophis III, expressing the victory of social damnation over the Theban priestly carpet-baggers and corruptionists of high and low degree. Both the homeland and Palestine groaned under misgovernment, bribery, corruption, official spoliation and robbery of every kind. So Harm-hab must be counted a great political reformer. He vividly realized the justice of many bitter complaints about the oppression and extortion by Egyptian tax-gatherers; he enacted laws against such; their noses should be cut off and they were to be colonized at Tharu, the Palestine Egypt frontier town. And "Chopnose Town" (Greek Rhinocoloura) it remained for more than 1000 years. (ARE, II: 415; III: 51, 54, 55, 56, 59, 88, 100, 307, 542, 631; IV: 956. Cf. Minoan Outlines, Section 56.) Had Israelite kings made such a colony-example of oppressive officials, there might have been no Babylonian exile.

#### 165. Rameses I: 1315-1314; Delta Foreigner?

Founder XIXth Dynasty. Probably associate of Har-em-hab, and charged by him to continue his work. Certainly Northern, and his worship of Sutekh, known to us from Hittite Egyptian treaties of his grandson, suggests ancestry from the Hittite region. It is certain that his grandson made the Delta-port of Zoan his capital, and favored Asiatic divinities. A temple of Sutekh is probably marked by the modern shrine of "the prophet Seth" on the western slopes of the Anti-Lebanon. Associating his son with him as coregent, Rameses I died within two years.

#### 166. Seti I: 1313-1292 B.C. -- Beth-Shean Stele.

This recently recovered stela is unique; its statement of the first year's dash into Palestine is the briefest and tersest of all known royal inscriptions. A Hittite prince at Hamath on the southwest shore of the sea of Galilee was trying to induce neighboring towns to join in an attack on Beth-shean, or to starve out the garrison. Seti's sudden appearance, launching a regiment at each place, brought peace in a day, Seti says. There seems to have been little fighting with these garrisons.

But some Trans-Jordan invaders, probably invited by Hittite agents, had recently come among the Hurru-settlers, whom we have seen to have been there more than 200 years, and had taken to cursing and fighting each other, and disregarding the laws of the Great House (Perao, Pharaoh). So these he promptly destroyed. (ARE, III, 101 f.) A newly discovered Beth-Shean fragment says that these brigands were Aamu and Eperu "of the mountain of the Jordan." Since these are "totally destroyed," they cannot be identified with the "Israel" of Joshua's invasion. This "Aperu" question merits the following special section.

#### 167. Aperu Not "Hebrews".

Since the spread of some little interest in Egyptian relations with the OT in the last sixty years there have been sporadic efforts to identify Aperu with "Hebrews" --





And these would not have been made, could the authors have kept in mind the fact that "Hebrews" are not "Israel." See Section 74, 74-b again.

Brugsch long ago made the suggestion that Aperû simply meant "redskins." That would be parallel to the Greek use of the term phoinix ("Phoenix") for all bronzed or sunburned eastern people. It would tell nothing of race, language, culture, political or social relations.

Now there are only five texts, from 1300 to 1150 B.C. The new Beth-shean fragments are thirteen years earlier. Now the student must remember that the term in question does not occur in the Hyksos times, nor in the almost 300 following years that we have scanned. To state it differently, from Joseph's time on, for 500 years or more, this term does not occur. The chronological difficulty is insuperable - the term cannot mean "Hebrews."

Dr. John A. Wilson of Department of Egyptology, University of Chicago, discusses the five passages in AJSL, July, 1933. The three hieroglyph characters are i-p-r. (The final U is the plural ending.) The vowels might be anything - making 'aper, 'eprû, 'iprû, etc. Dr. Wilson uses a tentative 'Eperû, for discussion purposes.

(1) Papyrus I at Leyden: time Rameses II. Grain is issued "to soldiers and 'eprû "drawing stone" -- for pylon of Rameses I.

(2) Again, for a building of the god Ra near Memphis.

(3) Workers of Rameses IV in Valley Hamamat. The total of 8300 begins with 500 skilled workmen and officers. Then "5000 men of the army, 800 'eprû of the foreign troops of 'An (break), and 2000 men of the temples of Pharaoh."

(4) Papyrus Harris, Rameses III. Property of the temple of Ra, at On (Heliopolis): "soldiers, sons of foreign princes, Mariannû (Iranian gentry), 'eprû and the settlers in this place," (on temple lands).

(5) Papyrus Harris: tale of famous capture of Joppa, time of Thothmes III. Orders given that either a Mariannû or an 'epr shall feed the horses.

Dr. Wilson concludes the 'Eperû must be connected with the Khabirû of the El-Amarna Letters, 100 years before the time of Rameses II, and that the word Khabirû had become a general term for "foreign bondsmen all over the East. But the terrible Khabirû of the El-Amarna Letters are anything but bondsmen; they are roving soldiery whose swords any one may hire. They are the same in Babylonian records, more than 1000 years earlier. Nor is it proved that the 'Eperû were ever bondsmen. For Khabirû garrisons, see LTM 128-151.

It will be observed that in all the above cases the 'eprû are grouped with the soldiery. In (3) they are specifically "of the foreign troops of 'An." In (4) Brugsch long ago read the mariannû, "knights," or commanders of the 'eprû, whom he thought were horsemen. The same association appears in (5); both are therefore foreigners. It would seem that the 'eprû are simply "foreign mercenaries" - like Hessians of the American Revolution. We are not shown whether the term 'eprû, is gentilic or not.

But in Seti I's Beth Shean stele we are on different ground. His 'Eperû are not in Egyptian employ at all. They are a dangerous foreign soldiery, on their own ground; the name now seeming gentilic. Albright observes that some of these 'Eperû were part of the Beth-Shean garrison, and compares an EA Letter passage: "men of Ginti-Carnel are in Beth-Shean as a garrison." (BASOR 1924, p. 5.) That only emphasizes the fighting qualities of the 'Eperû of the mountain of the Jordan," and suggests that it may prove worth while to colonize large numbers of them in Palestine. But in that case the name of this mysterious people will get a Hebrew plural ending, and 'Eperû will become EPHRAIM! As for the light Egyptian guttural, the El-Amarna letters show that often ignored or lost; and also an initial sh turned into s: shamy, "heaven" turned into Samû; and Sheba, "Seven," made into Sebû. That divisions of the same people might come to differ in gutturals and sibilants on opposite sides of the Jordan are shown by the two following cases.

The Chronicler, I Chron. 5:24, records that seven Ephraim clans, notoriously idolatrous, holding the whole country from Gilead to Mount Kermion, were deported by Tiglath-Pileser IV, about 732 B.C; about 580 years after Seti I's collision with the 'Eperû. Ashtaroth-Karnaim was still a great Ashtart-Sanctuary; it is from the OT that we know the name. There were subdivisions by that time; one of them is 'Epher, (light guttural).



Are not the other six subdivisions of this original "Epher"? Observe that in Eastern Hurrian Semitic gutturals persist; but in Western Hurrian they are lost. The 'Ayin of this "Epher" would be lost in time, by contact with Hurrians in the Land of Shechem.

The dialectic difference soon develops. About 100 years after Seti I, some of his "Ephraim" settled in Palestine are bullying those left in Seti's "mountain of the Jordan" as mere fugitives or remnants of the body settled in Palestine, Judg. 12:4. The easterners can still say "Shibboleth"; the westerners can't! And if one inquire into the provenance of these mysterious new-comers of Seti I's time, the same compiler of Judges says that they had been living in Northern Moab and South Ammon for 300 years, before gaining their more northern home! (Judg. 11:26) - a statement which challenges any participation in a mere 40 years stroll through the country!

Then a hundred years or more later still the forest or grove near Mahanaim is still known as the "wood of Ephraim," 2 Sam. 18:6. The exact location is immaterial here. The point is that 300 years after Seti I was at Mahanaim, 250 years or more after the settlement of certain "Ephraim" colonies in central Palestine, the highlands south-east of Jabesh-Gilead are still remembered, as the "land of Ephraim." It is interesting that in time the fact that "Ephraim" is a plural form seems lost, and an individual of that name is invented to account for the tribe; Gen. 48:8 ff. No other name of the "twelve tribes" is a plural form.

As to the above prominence of the sanctuary of the "Ashtarts of the Two Peaks" shown in Section 150-b in El-Amarna days, down to the deportation mentioned by the Chronicler, recent archaeology supports the assertion. At various sites in Palestine a destruction at the beginning of the Iron Age is shown. The invaders are shown by their own following settlements to have been a very rude people, with material culture far inferior to that of their predecessors! and their favorite cultus-figurines are naked Ashtarts. Three hundred years in Moab (above) must be near the fact. (Cf. Num. 25.)

#### 168. Conquests of Seti I. (See Knight, 226-230).

After checking the disturbance about Beth-Shean, Seti hurries home to subdue the invading Libyans. He then determines to drive the Hittites out of Galilee. He marches up the coast to make all secure on the sea-board first; reaches "The Fortress of the Kena'na," probably the same as his Kerem-Ammu: (Carm-El)? the modern Haifa?) subdues AKKO, Tyre, (Old Tyre; see Section 122) and Simyra, reaching "the Bend of the Sea" (Gulf of Issus). Evidently Gebal and other cities were loyal. Then he campaigned north through Galilee, driving the Hittites out of Yenoam, Beth-Anath, and Kedesh-Naphtali, taking many captives to Egypt to toil at his store-cities. He certainly reached Kadesh on the Orontes, for the top of a stele of his was found there in 1921, showing him worshipping Amon, a Hittite god, and the Kadesh goddess, and receiving the harp of victory. Pezard, the excavator, records that the local gods are in Egyptian regalia. The Hittite is not yet supreme. Date and inscription are gone. The net result of his campaign seems to be that he wrested Galilee from the Hittites, and maintained Egypt's preëminence on the Gebal-Kenana. He names 43 towns raided in his various campaigns.

#### 169. Punishing Āamû, and Eperû.

Seti I then pushed across the Jordan to punish the marauding Āamû and Eperû brigands. He reached Mahanaim. (See Section 167). He set up a stele, which was found in 1901 by Professor G. A. Smith, at Tell es-Shihâb, 25 miles east of the point where the Jordan leaves the Sea of Galilee. He pushed on to "the marshes of the Naharin" 60 miles northeast of Tell es-Shihâb. The Abana and Pharpar empty into those "Marshes of the Two Rivers," southeast of Damascus. He shows us that the marauding Āamu (LXX Ῥομῖν? Deut. 10f.) and Eperû? are coming from "Aram of the Two Rivers" through that Bashan region. His son will have to make terms with them. It is curious that the modern Arab thinks that the thousands of dolmens in this region are Kābūr benā Isra'īl - "graves of the children of Israel." (Albright, BASOR Oct. 1925, p. 14, counts them older than 4,000 B.C. Father Mader, JPOS, 1927, 1-2 reports about 5000 in Trans-Jordania. Compare Père Mallon, on prehistoric stations in Palestine; Beirut, 1925: Miss Garrod, Mesolithic Burials; Minoan Outlines, 22; and Field Museum Expedition in Arabia in Section 12).

#### 169-b. Are Āamû "Boomerang-Throwers"?



Aam is an Egyptian word for a "boomerang." So Gauthier in his Dictionary (1927-1928) decides that Aam<sup>1</sup>-people are simply "boomerang-throwers." Paul Tresson writes approvingly. (RB, 1929, 570, note 7). The boomerang may be in Num. 35:18. The Hebrew is peculiar - not literally translated in the AV. There is a compound word, ets-yad, "wood-of-hand," or "hand-stick." The ordinary word for staff, rod or club is not used. So "instrument of a hand-stick" would be literal.

Such a throwing-stick is still in use among some Nilotic tribes. Baker (1861) describes the trombash used by Tokroori negroes from Darfur. These pilgrims to Mecca had settled in the Gallabat district of Abyssinia. The trombash was "a piece of flat wood, about two feet in length, the end of which turns sharply at an angle of about 30 degrees. They throw this with great dexterity and inflict severe wounds with the hard sharp edge; but unlike the boomerang the weapon does not return to the thrower." (NTA, 348). Such trombash viewed edgewise would be the Egyptian determinative for a foreign people (like the Greek barbaroi?). Baker notes other throwing-sticks on the Nile: some sharp-pointed. Now Egyptian records have Aamu in Nubia as well as in Syria-Palestine.

#### 170. Anat at Beth-Shean - "Queen of Heaven." Jeremiah 44:17-25 and 7:18.

An Egyptian votive stele found at Beth-Shean shows the Egyptian Hesinecht worshipping "Anat, Queen of Heaven, mistress of all the gods," and "giver of life to the souls of the dead." This nullifies the theory of the late Chaldean origin of Jeremiah's "queen of heaven" (see Hastings' Dictionary, 1:92; IV: 181). Seti I calls his chariot team, "Anat is content." "See Temple of Anat" Josh. 19:38; 15:59; and Judges 33; 3:31; and Anathoth, "The Anats," Josh. 21:18, I K. 2:26; Jer. 1:1, etc. Compare "Giver of Life to the souls of the dead" with the barren hope of the Aton-cult, Section 138.

If some Egyptians adopted the Palestinian queen of Heaven, would not others adopt the Yahu Cult?

Now consider again Section 125, in which Anat was the great immortal goddess of Ugarit, able to call her brother Aleyan - Elyon (AV Most High) back from the dead, however often he perished. These Ugarit tablets are at least 700 years older than Jeremiah's complaint, and no one yet knows how much older the cult of Anat at Ugarit was. Again we are shown the folly of making reckless assertions, like those in Hastings' Dictionary, upon the basis of our own ignorance.

#### 171. Beth-Shean Steadily Egyptian.

We have seen that the Hyksos left a stratum at Beth-Shean; that the succeeding Amenophis I, Thothmes III, Amenophis II, Amenophis IV, etc. had their temples, forts and garrisons there; that the El-Amarna letters show Beth-shean an Egyptian garrison. Now the temple and fortress and steles of Seti I show continued Egyptian tenure. We saw Mycenaean and other Aegaeon troopers there in the time of Thothmes III; the continued use of such mercenaries later. Now Seti I has similar garrisons; the anthropoid clay coffins of Mediterranean type, with various utilia, witness the fact. There is no place in all these years for such hostile Israelite invasions as are pictured in Joshua. Any such incursion would have had to be as Egyptian mercenaries in an Egyptian-ruled land.

The use of "Coastland" (See Minoan Outlines, Sections 85-86) mercenaries and trader-colonies to garrison the land in Egypt's interest will leave military and culture elements that Israel will have to deal with. Egyptian mercantile and military methods place these Sea-peoples in Palestine.

#### 172. Corroborative Testimony of Beth-Pelet.

Revert to the great Beth-Pelet stronghold, with its 25 Hyksos royal tombs, the long impregnable Hyksos capital (Minoan Outlines 50-52). Excavations show the Egyptians Residency area first had a Hyksos building, then a later Hyksos, then early XVIII Dynasty, then El-Amarna period. Then eighteen inches ashes before Seti II (Merneptah) rebuilt.

But some tombs of XVIII-XIX Dynasties are of pure Hyksos plan, showing that



though politically overthrown some of the Iranian folk remained, as shown in Minoan Section 78. The later, mostly Philistine-Egypt did not eradicate local culture and peoples. They remained and copied clumsily some Egyptian art.

Post-Hyksos scarabs in the tombs are numerous, and include Thothmes III, Amenophis II, Amenophis III, Amenophis IV? Tut-Ankh-Amen, Rameses I, Seti I, Rameses II, Merneptah, Rameses III, Rameses VIII. There will be more. The immediate point is the very long unbroken dominance of Egypt in this region as well as at Beth-Shean.

### 173. Rameses II, 1292-1225 B.C., Becomes Job!

Read the ARE records. He holds all Palestine, including Galilee; but no more certainly. He assails the Hittites, left in possession of Kadesh by Har-em-hab, but after fifteen years war has gained no permanent advantage, and is glad to sign a treaty of peace with the new king Hattusil III. At Dog-river, four miles north of Beirut, his great relief remains on the face of the cliff at the mouth of the river.

He builds a new temple and fortress at Beth-Shean. He has lost the Mycenaeans, and has to deal with the Aamu and Eperu that his father drove back. So he crosses the Jordan and makes for Ashtaroth-Karnaïm ("The Goddesses of the Two Peaks"). Here he sets up a stele to "Arkan of the North" Peak. (Olmstead, 222, uses a reading of forty years ago: Adon-Saphon, which now might be identified with Baal-Sapuna of Ugarit.) The site is twenty-five miles east of the north end of the Sea of Galilee. The site is now Sheikh Saad. Here Hrozy found his stele embedded in the hard-caked floor of a Mohammedan sanctuary, known as "Job's Stone," and actually based in a flooring beneath, of Greek origin! Hrozy thinks the site is that of the old temple of "Arkan of the North," in high repute far and wide, in the second millennium B.C.

Hrozy thinks Rameses II was seeking aid against Hattusil III: for with the stele were a "Hittite" lion and lioness, of about that period! Seven other figures were of the Greek period. There was no older history. The stele is of basalt, ten feet, four inches high and broken across the middle for purposes of transportation, Hrozy suggests. But if the stone was at the original site what need of that? May it not have been broken by Hittite conquerors? (ILN, 6-25-1927).

So Hittites took over the Ashtaroth-sanctuary from the earlier Aamu: then followed Aramaean - then Greek - then Christian - then Moslem. How many new names Rameses got as Sir Arkan's sanctuary changed hands, we do not know. There is no recognizable reason in the Book of Job for either Jew, Christian, or Moslem recognizing this stele as "Job's stone," however pressing the need of a new saint! It is fair to ask if the tradition does not go back to the Job (Ayab) in Section 150, (Joshua paragraph) who got beyond the reach of the Egyptian supervisor, by going to Ashtaroth-Karnaïm, 150 years before Rameses II's time.

Was he taking sanctuary? For "Job's Stone" has been an asylum, a place of refuge for uncouth centuries - particularly for negro slaves. Any fugitive who can reach the "holy land" is free from his master. From far away Soudan they come, via Mecca and Medina; and a colony of negro freedmen lived about the shrine in 1880 (Elephant, Land of Gilead, pp. 71-96). Chrysostom writes that it was so in his day. What irony, that one accounted among the most ruthless of oppressors should come to be the surest hope of a runaway-negro slave!

How was this asylum-reputation acquired? A romantic escape of one man like above Ayab might expand it. But the basis must be a royal boundary-stone beyond which no pursuer might venture.

### 174. Zoan and Anat Again.

Read older data, Knight 238-240. Rameses restored and enlarged the former Hyksos capital, Het-Uart, earlier Zoan. (Cf. Montet, Sections 96,97). He laid it out on such scale that Thebes in its full glory did not surpass it (Montet). The circumference is two hours walk: the harbor immense. Rameses II called it by his own name. (Ex. 1:11; 12:37).

One of his Colossi was the largest ever sculptured by the hand of man. It had





been a standing statue, in walking pose, with arms straight down the sides. Petrie found it fifty years ago. But it had been cut to pieces by Osorkon II, 400 years later (Section 198), to build a pylon gate-way; and from the fallen blocks of this gateway Petrie recognized what the pieces had been: part of an ear, part of a foot, pieces of an arm, part of a back, the royal cartouches on the breast: mere chips of a few tons each. Petrie measured these and proved that the standing figure was 92 feet high from top to toe, or 125 feet high when standing on its pedestal, nearly fifty feet higher than the obelisk of Thothmes III in Central Park. It was hewed out of the obdurate red granite of Assuan. The minimum weight of the whole was 1200 tons. How it was hewn unbroken from the quarry and floated down the river 675 miles staggers us. It must have towered 65 feet above the buildings and obelisks around it, and been visible nearly fourteen miles away on the level. (PFE 53 f.)

Rameses' own colossi announce him under the protection of Anta or Anat. The great Palestinian goddess wears the Egyptian crown; but is not robed; naked in "Syrian" style. It seems clear that she had long been the supreme goddess of the place - (perhaps at Tahpanhes later, Jer. 44). We see how readily a Pharaoh might adopt any foreign god, (compare Ikhнатon) for political ends; how any immigrant traders might set up their colony-sanctuary. Rameses II has a sea-captain Ben-Anat; and a daughter, Bint-Anat. (Good Hebrew compounds) His sword is "Anat is Victorious"; his dog, "Anat-protects." He himself is "Hero of Anat." And he has a sculptor in Egypt, named Yahu-nam, "Yahu saith."

#### 175. Mycenaeans Disappear.

Recent explorations confront us with the sudden and total disappearance, about the middle of this century, of the Mycenaean culture that came in two centuries earlier. (Sections 115-121). There was probably a Mycenaean settlement at Jerusalem; for the recently discovered gateway in the western outer wall of the Jebusite stronghold (on the lower terrace), is of the Tiryns pattern, though believed to have been built after the cessation of the importation of Mycenaean ware (AJA, January 1929, 114). As already stated, they were certainly long at Gezer. It seems that their expulsion from Palestine must have been a result of Rameses II's loss of the war against the Hittites; for Ugarit appears as an ally of the Hittite king in Rameses II's story of the battle of Kadesh, and appears no more in Egyptian records. The treaty with the Hittites leaves them in undisturbed possession of all the north Syrian coast; and Mycenaean traffic spreads through Hittite domains. But Ugarit's seed-sowing in Palestine (Sections 123-129) has been well done.

#### 176. Is the Hittite Treaty in the Pentateuch?

Recurring to Section 173, the treaty between the Hittite king and Rameses II shut him south of the pass of Hamath and lost him the Syria east of the Anti-Lebanon. And his excursion to Ashtaroth-Karnaim stands in sharp contrast, in its tradition of a sacred compact, with the punitive raid of his father a generation earlier. Now the tradition of a settlement-compact with Israel, a land promised to them, is curiously approximate to the territory conceded Rameses II. The Pass of Hamath is several times mentioned in the OT as the theoretical northern boundary of Israel. But the Joshua list of tribal territories does not come within 100 miles of it; and the consciousness that the tribes had never reached their conceded northern boundary is in the OT compilations. Asher's boundaries do not extend beyond the Mibzar or frontier boundary of Tyre, Josh. 19:29. Yet the territory allotted to Israel in Num. 34:7-12 has for northeast boundaries about what was allowed Rameses II.

This numbers passage does not agree with Josh. 13:5, which does not mention Mt. Hor, and does mention Afka on the Nahr Ibrahim as one point in the line, and specifies also the southern boundary of the Amurru state, which Rameses II lost; or rather, could not regain. The wording makes Aphek to be on this Amurru-boundary - but the boundary was subject to political fluctuations. Kadesh and the Orontes are not in any announced boundary. The Numbers passage seems to draw a line east from Mt. Hor to cross an entrance to Hamath from the south; while many think the "entrance to Hamath" means the entrance from the sea through the mountains north of Tripoli. Cameron Mackay (JTS Jan. 1934) discusses "The Northern Boundary of Palestine," including Ezek. 47:15-17, ignoring the Joshua passage. But as archaeology shows Rameses II did hold Gebal, while losing Amurru, Josh. 13:5, approximates the treaty boundary.



### 177. No Proscription of Rameses II's Subjects.

The Pentateuch compilers repeatedly announce the decreed extermination of any Hittites and Amurru folk and Northern metal-workers (perizzi), Achaians ("Hivites"), Cilicians, ("Gergesites"), Jebusi (a "Hittite" people), and other northern coast-folk (Kenabhi, "Canaanites"). But there is no proscription of the Hurri, the Philistines, the Cretans, Sharon coasts, the Tyrians, the Sidonians, Gebalites, nor the terrible Anakim, nor Amalekites, nor Midianites, nor any of the peoples in the hundred miles between the pass of Hamath and the Asher boundary. Old districts like Asher and Zebulun - centuries older than the Joshua incursion, (Section 81) are to be fraternally accepted. Nay, more: "Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, for thou art a guest-people (ger) in his land": Deut. 23:7.

The proscribed peoples, in short, are such as Rameses II would not have considered permanent citizens or dependable visitors after his loss of the Hittite war. In the story of Labaya, Section 150, it was pointed out that any powerful merchant or trading-company owing allegiance to the Hittite government would inevitably be an object of suspicion to Egyptophile Palestinians. The modern oriental epigram "First the trader, then the consul" states the ever-recurring order. After the treaty with the Hittites all sea-peoples trading southward through the Pass of Hamath since Thothmes III's time knew their immediate interests depended upon the favor of the Hittite power. Some held concessions from Egypt that were now worth little. Some may have thought themselves sacrificed by Egypt.

### 178. Sea-Peoples Not Included in the Hittite Treaty. Eperu-Ephraim Mercenaries.

Rameses II's story of the coalition against him at the battle of Kadesh includes twenty-four peoples besides the Hittites; several of them definitely along the southern coasts of Asia Minor. (Wilson, AJSL, July 1927). But none of these are included in the treaty of peace. This mingling of peoples in northern Syria parallels the story of two of Joshua's campaigns in which the Hittites are but one element in the opposing coalition in the north. Either during his Hittite war or afterward Rameses would not feel any compunctions as to the methods he used against these coast-peoples or northerners. He had lost Mycenaean and other Mediterranean mercenaries in Palestine. He could use the very Aamu and Eperu warriors that his father had punished for their savage treatment of his Hurri subjects. And he did. In Section 167 it was shown that the Eperu appear for the first time as an important contingent of the Egyptian army in his reign. His steles at Tell es-Shihab and Ashtaroth-Karnaim show him negotiating at Eperu sanctuaries. If Eperu were valuable as a contingent of his own army at home, they would also be useful as boundary-guards in Palestine. But the more cultured and long-settled Hurri population would not tolerate the introduction of these fighting Eperu as local militia unless the marauders were bound by most solemn oaths to accept the god Ea-Sharru (Ya-Shar) as their own, and account all enemies of the Hurri and Egypt as their own. There would necessarily be a delimitation by Rameses II of the territory in which the Eperu might sojourn, and solemn assurances by the Hurrians that Yahu would surely give the Eperu victory if they would be faithful to him. Would this "covenant" survive in Eperu tradition as of a "land which Yahu swore to give unto their fathers?" How much of this did Rameses II accomplish by his visits to the Eperu sanctuaries?

### 179. The OT Version of an Eperu Treaty with Hurrian Yahwists at Shechem.

About 1225-1250 B.C. an Eperu leader named Hoshea (Num. 13:18), whose name is afterwards changed, and whose non-Hebrew people afterwards adopt a Hebrew plural ending for their tribal name, were invited across the Jordan. It may be observed in passing, that Eperu is not an Aramaic plural. (The AV of Deut. 26:5 is a blunder, in Jewish view; the Aramaean was not the ancestor, but the enemy of Israel, in Hurrian-Harran: Section 105, 106). The invitation to Oshêa and his Eperu-Ephraim comes from some Hurrians at Gibeon, and from a "Sar of the army of Yahu," who takes charge as soon as he meets Hoshea (Josh. 5:13-6:5. (See Again Sections 84, 143). The AV of Josh. 9:3-15 has Achaians ("Hivites") at Gibeon; but the LXX has Xorrai, "Hurrians" in 9:7 and 11:19. (Were these settled in the "royal city," 10:2, in the Jerusalem district over Put-i-khêpa's protest? Section 150.) These Gibeonites want Eperu aid in a campaign against Achaians in the north, and some coast-landers with an interior stronghold in an old Hyksos earth-fort called Hazor. Josh. 10:3 f. states the feud; Hittites and allies are in



9:1 f. while the Gibeonite Gibborim or "mighty men" (10:2,7) aided in the capture of Hazor. So this case, like the story in Gen. 34, presents the fact that Israel made a treaty with the Hurri on entering the land. The campaign goes through without formal acceptance of Yahu by the newcomers. But the narrative closes with a formal assembly of tribal chiefs and officials at Shechem, where the Hurrian colonists of Labaya had been welcomed 150 years before, Section 150. 'Oshea reminds them of their ancestral paganism beyond the Jordan, and challenges them to accept Yahu as their tribal god (24:2, 14 f. 23). But this arrangement certainly does violence to the preceding narratives. That covenant-assembly with the Hurrians of Shechem and with Yahu must have followed immediately upon meeting the Sar of the host of Yahu in 5:13 ff; and the crossing of the Jordan was at the ford at the mouth of the Jabbok; Josh. 3:16. Read Garstang, 136 f. In Section 150, we saw that ford was the key to Labaya's final triumph, though he did not live to reap the fruits. Since then Shechem had grown to be the mighty stone-walled city which is now barely shown us, Section 150. The "holy ground" of the Sar of the host of Yahu must have been the sanctuary upon the slope of Gerizim lately unearthed by Welter. We can have a better appreciation of the long contention "Our fathers worshipped upon this mountain," (John 4:20) and a more tender sympathy for the fast-fading Samaritan community.

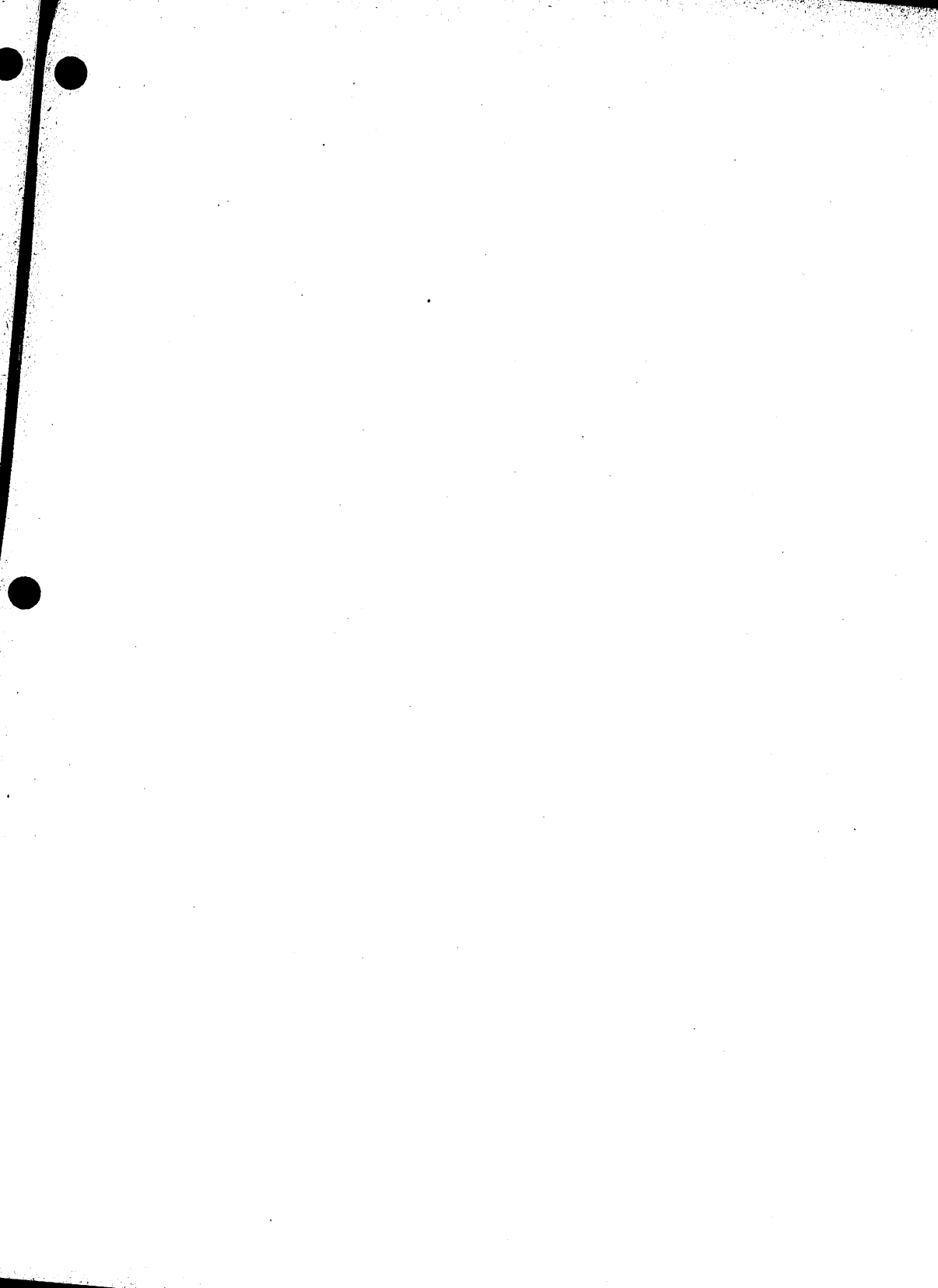
#### 179-b. First 'Eperu: Then Israel; Then Ephraim.

This OT statement of a formal intermediate covenant with Hurrian Yahwists at Shechem has a "Paredra legend" (if the expression will be tolerated) in Gen. 32:22-31 that ancestors could not come out of the 'Eperu country of Mahanaim without going through a religious ceremony by which the name "Israel" was acquired. Without reviewing the much-debated initiation into a religious order, the facts already reviewed clarify the mystery. That the ancient Eridu god Ea acquired a large following in Hurrian areas as Ea-Sarru has been shown; that among western Hurrians the name was abridged to Ia-Sarru, Ya-shar, has been shown, and that in EA-Letter times the Iranian king of Hurrian Mitanni had to recognize this god as a national god in making treaties. Hurrian immigrants to Shechem, "annexed" by the treaty of Amenophis III, would do the same thing. The 'Eperu immigrants would be required to acknowledge "Yashar-ilu!" That is, "Ya the King is God!" (How much cultus of "The King" (AV "Molech") is associated with this slogan? Cf. Is. 30:33; 57:9; Jer. 19:5; 32:35; Ezek. 20:25). For it is essential in any such treaty that the immigrants swear by the god of the land (2 Kings 17:26 ff.). The Hurrians would not be accepting the gods of the 'Eperu! - Now Ya-shar-ilu is, without the Akkadian ending, "Yashar-el." But these 'Eperu, according to Judg. 12:5 f. could not say that. They would have said Yisar-el and "Yisrael" they still say! (For the very rare short form Ya-el, see ANF, I:355; III:650; VIII:571. For various forms of "Israel" and Jewish inability to tell its origin or meaning see LTM, pp. 12-14.)

This very contraction of Yashar into Isar seems before us in tablets that have been before the scholarly world for 25 to 30 years. But the all-important connecting link furnished by Ferris J. Stephens - that Western Hurrians contracted Easharru into Yashar - had not then been provided. Johns (PSBA, 1907, 177 ff.) published a marriage-contract from Khabur dated in reign Hammurabi, naming a King Isar-lim. A seal of "Ishar-lim, king of the land of Hana, beloved of Shamash and Dagan," is twice stamped on the tablet; and a canal from "the sacred city of Ishar-lim-land!" is mentioned. Sayce (PSBA, 1912, p. 52) reports a tablet from the same Hana on the Euphrates, naming Isar-lim (not Ishar-lim) as one of several kings. Tablets were dated in his reign. Sayce recognized that Isar-lim was probably a familiar mimmation of Isar-ilu - (In Section 150 some writers give the name of Labaya's partner as Milki-i-lu. The Mitanni Hurrian? Put-Khepa writes "Milki-lim.") But he could not explain "Isar." But here in Hurrian Hana, then metropolis? of the later Hani-galbat and Mitanni, at the time when Western Hurrians could write Yashar, their eastern kinsmen could write Ishar, or Isar, Isharlu or -lim, or Isar-lim; and also had a "land of Israel," Isar-lim. The Western and Eastern forms surely had the same origin. From this Hurrian Kingdom of Hana also came a code of laws which perhaps influenced the code of kings of Isin in Southern Babylonia, 2350-2150 B.C. (Woolley, 91) How far the Hurrians shaped the OT code is a new and live question.

#### 180. The Capture of Little Jericho.

Palestinian Archaeologists now recognize that the "Israel of Joshua" came into an Egypt-ruled land. No interruption of Egyptian tenure has been found. Consequently the



settlement must have been with Egyptian approval. If they actually fought their way in, it was by fighting Egypt's enemies. The bargain is before us in Josh. 5:9: "This day I am rolling the herpah of Egypt off of you." But what is herpah? The AV reads "reproach," but the verb is very common in the sense of "pluck, collect, gather, harvest"; hence "collect taxes" of produce at gathering time. In that sense it is familiar in Arabic and has passed into Spanish; mojarrife is still a "tax-collector." So Joshua's remark is legitimately, "Today I am rolling taxation by Egypt off of you - on condition of your rendering military service;" an ever-recurring arrangement in the Orient. (LTM 130 ff.) There has been a very persistent effort to identify the destruction of the great city in the reign of Amenophis III, with the OT Jericho. Since the OT represents Joshua's entrance as occurring in the early Iron Age (e.g. Judg. 1:19; 4:3,13), the identification is impossible. But Garstang admits a partial reoccupation during the Bronze Age, which does not occur in the Joshua story. The site is abandoned for some 350 years: 1 Kings 16:34. (See Section 149 again).

But the fact of a small town on the site after the destruction in the time of Amenophis III is admitted by Garstang. Some rubbish of this late Bronze village comes halfway up the old wall. Garstang recognizes that the new settlement lasted about 1200 B.C. (RB, 1932, 2, 270: PEFQS Ap. 1931:106). Albright found many Late Bronze sherds in Garstang's collections: Vincent recognizes great numbers of them, down to about 1250 B.C. (AJA, 1933, p. 165). This little town captured in Rameses II's time was comparatively unimportant.

But Jericho had been a radiating point for Egyptian culture. Near Sahab, forty miles due east of Jericho and seven miles southeast of Amman, some anthropoid coffins and fragments of pottery were found in 1929. Albright, studying them and comparing with those found at Beth-Shean and Tell-Fara, concluded that the finds are rude imitations of Egyptian models of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties. (AJA, July-Sept. 1932). Who the imitators were we do not know. But the finds are to be connected with the Balu'a stele of Section 183, as showing a line of Egyptian influence of that time extending far east of the Jordan.

#### 181. Rameses II wants Iron.

After treaty with Hittite king, Rameses II writes him for iron from Kizzuwadna (the later Roman "Pontus"). He is told that iron is costly and that it is the wrong time of the year to get it. We see that Egypt has been cut off from one of her great metal-sources, and that she must eventually be lost in her struggle with northern peoples. Cf. Jere. 15:12. For the Iron Age for Asia Minor now has begun, and all the iron is in her northern mountains. Consider also the agreement of present Palestinian archaeologists that the Israelite invasion came at the beginning of the Iron Age. But they themselves had no iron (Judg. 1:19; 5:8; 1 Sam. 13:19 ff.).

#### 182. Phoenician Script, 1250 B.C.

The "Fifth Tomb" at Gebal-Byblos had two old plain stone Egyptian Sarcophagi, and a later painted and inscribed one of Ahiram (= "Hiram"). This inscription is in early Phoenician characters. A plain Egyptian utensil with an inscription of Rameses II shows that this "Hiram" lived during or after the time of Rameses II. Egyptian hieroglyphs in all earlier tombs (JSOR, October 1928, 142 f.) But the discovered statue believed to be Hiram's shows him in full Egyptian regalia. Egyptian influence was still paramount on the Gebal coast. But we have seen archaic Hebrew or "Phoenician" writing in Palestine, 500 years earlier.

#### 183. The Khirbet Balu'a Stele and Rameses II.

In the Land of Moab, south of the Arnon, and about three miles north of the Jebel Shihān is a small ruin long thought insignificant, visited by Tristram, Seetzen, and Burckhardt. Here in 1931 among the basalt fragments one of Horsfield's inspectors observed traces of sculpture protruding from the soil. Prompt action brought out an important basalt stele, and placed it in the museum at Amman.





The first important fact is that it has an inscription in entirely new characters; there are several lines. The characters do not seem related to the above Phoenician, or to any Arabian scripts. There is as yet no clue.

The reliefs are made in Egyptian style. There is the familiar Egyptian introduction to a god, who wears imitation of the Egyptian double-crown with a Resheph? ribbon pendant from its peak. The god holds the wasf-scepter, has a short kilt, and a tiny Uraeus-serpent over brow.

But the native artist has given the god two right hands, a goddess two right hands! One figure has two left feet, another two right feet! The arms are feeble, the legs exaggerated! A native artist is copying Egyptian masters in the most refractory material. But the hard material does not explain the blunders named!

Now the peculiarities of the Egyptian robing have been discussed through many pages, and cannot be detailed here. The sum is, these dress-features did not exist when Rameses II came to the throne, and did exist by the end of Merneptah's few years. That is, a new set of artists with no artistic conventions and traditions, yet with a curious new script, is during reign of Rameses II taking lessons in Egyptian religious art - which means also in religious ritual. It seems that we should group it with Rameses' effort to establish himself at Ashtaroth-Karnaim. Are these the Eperu declared by Jepthah to have been here in Moab for 300 years? (Judg. 11:26; Section 167). Perhaps he would control the caravan route from the mouth of the Red Sea to Damascus. But we must wait for more information. (Horsfield & Vincent, Rev. Bib. July 1932: 28 pp. 7 plates. E. Drioton, RB, July 1933, 353-365: Albright, BASOR, 49-28.)

#### 184. Amenmeses: ?? years: Siptah, 6: Seti II Merneptah, 2: 1215-1205?

The Egyptian military policy now parallels that of imperial Rome, 1200 years later. Her mercenary garrisons and provincial governors are an unmanageable as the pretorian Guards. To change the illustration, any powerful provincial may turn Warwick, to set up or pull down kings. The above three seem to be successive usurpers. Palestine is not conquered by Hittites - it seems that a Palestinian chieftain is as likely to seize the throne as any one.

The one item for serious consideration, debated for 60 years, is the famous Egyptian romance, "The Tale of Two Brothers," written for Seti II Merneptah while yet a young prince. (See Eclectic, Jan. 1875, 101 ff.) It is believed to be the original of some elements in the story of Joseph. Perhaps it was popularized in Palestine during Seti II's reign. But the Egyptian names in the Joseph-story in Exodus are not of the type of Seti's time! Their type was current under the XXIIInd Dynasty: after 945 B.C.; some 350 years after Seti II. So the Exodus-version would appear to have been shaped about Rehoboam's time. (Peet, 110 f.)

#### 185. Merneptah's Israel - Sea-Peoples Come Back: 1225-1215 B.C.

Read ARE accounts. Records suppression of a general revolt in Palestine, naming seven districts from north to south, in two series: Hittites, Kenana (the Gabal coast-land) Askelon, and Gezer; Yeno'am (Galilee) Israel, Hurru. It is notable that each name is preceded by the determinative for a land, save Israel, which has only the determinative for a people or tribe: there is no land yet known by their name! But the Hurru have a land! Consider again the suggested negotiations of his father, Rameses II. As Merneptah was associated with his father during the last ten years of Rameses' reign, this distinction in the record gains significance. Israel is raising grain, but is only a "sojourner"; does not own the land.

The inscription reads, "Wasted is Tehenu (Libya): Kheta (Hittite land) is pacified; plundered is the Kenana (Gabal-coast-region) with every evil; carried off is Askelon, seized upon is Gezer, Yeno'am is annihilated, the Israel-folk are desolate; their grain is not; the Hurru-land is a widow for Egypt." Cf. Barton, 375.

Such is the only mention of Israel in all the Egyptian inscriptions. See how small is the Israel of Samuel in 1 Sam. 7:13-17; and that is subsequent to Josh. 17:14-18.



Merneptah's name is in Judges 15:9: "the fountain of Merneptah." He holds Beth-Shean and reports a new invasion of the Lebanon area by Ekwesh or Achaians ("Hivites"), Tursha (Cilicians? Tarsus folk?); Pisidians, Lycians and Sardians. The "Hivites" stay in the Lebanon: Judges 5:3. Consider Section 178. Has Rameses II's policy resulted in a retaliatory Crusade?

#### 186. The Sea-Peoples Tools of the Hurru? - 1205-1190.

The thronging invaders press into Egypt; Merneptah did not stop them. Rameses III describing the situation later, says "Any Hurru made himself a chief over Egyptians. Their chiefs and rulers of towns ruled Egypt." And in ARE IV, 565, 573, the Mediterranean has become "The great Hurru Sea." Were they utilizing these "Sea-Peoples"? - One named Yarsu? made Egypt groan with his exactions till he was overthrown by Setnakht, whose son was Rameses III, who represents himself as the divinely called deliverer. "Every (chief) was killing his neighbor." — "Who was king? Who was not king?" Compare Manetho's account of the return attacks of the expelled Hyksos as reported by Josephus against Apion. (Compare Knight, 251 f.) It shows the petty city-states and "castle-barons" of the El-Amarna Letters, Joshua, and Judges. But they raided Egypt, whose long domination of Palestine was nearly done (ARE, IV, 398.)

#### 187. Rameses III, 1198-1167 B.C.

He says that after the gods raised him up to restore order, "no enemy from Kush (Nubia) and no foe from the Hurru dared make trouble." (ARE IV, 410). He subdued all Palestine. His new temple and steles and fortress at Beth-Shean have been found. "North-erns of the coast" - Sardians, Danaoi, Pisidians, Philistines, Zakkara, and Washasha - established a great military camp in the "Land of Amor" (Amurru) or Northern Lebanon; they threaten the whole south. That means that the Hittite power conceded by Rameses II is now gone. Rameses claims that he won a great victory over these "sea-peoples" in a naval battle off the coast near the Egyptian port of Gebel, in 1190 B.C. and that he defeated them at their Amor camp in 1187, capturing one (?) Amor prince and some Hittites. It is mere bluster, for he says he had to defeat them again in his own Delta, in 1185! Read Macalister on the invasion.

Why does not Rameses III mention "Israel," as Merneptah did? Because he is not making a district-survey of the whole country. The Hurru being now a leading element in the population, he probably uses the term Hurru for the whole. Pottery of the type now known as Hebrew ware, 1200 B.C., has been found at some sites in the Eastern Delta. Whether such Hebrew groups were colonists or slave-settlements we cannot say. (Duncan, 245).

#### 188. Pre-Philistine Minoans - (See "Minoan" 72-75).

It is important to recognize that some of the newcomers are of a people long familiar to Egypt. The reliefs of Rameses III at Medinat Habu show mercenaries? in the Egyptian army identical in all respects with the new-comer Philistines, (Garstang, 285, 310). A broken passage (ARE IV:71) has "The Puluset—in their towns." And the recent discoveries at Tell Fara has Philistine pottery in strata near a century earlier. Still the plumed warriors in the army of Rameses III are probably from the Minoan colonies from Gaza to Beersheba: that furnished David's "Cherethites & Pelethites"; Cretans and Beth-Pelet men. The plumes are now known as a Carian characteristic.

#### 189. Philistine Migration to Join the Ancient Colony.

The Egyptian artists portray these "sea peoples" as bringing their families in wagons, and bringing livestock. It is not a mere military campaign. It is a racial migration. Some great disaster has cut them off from Crete. (The total destruction of their great capital Knossos by an earthquake; Evans, Palace of Minos, Vol. II). A tremendous pluvial period in Southern Europe, began about 1300 B.C.; disasters drove peoples southward. (A.R. Burn, p. 144). The migrants conclude to join the Minoan colonies already there. "They fought to fill their bellies," says the Egyptian chronicler. Notice the Cretans of the South, I Sam. 30:14 f. The Goyim of the coast-plain (JP05 I:187-194)



are the Zakkara (Teuceri?) who hold the plain of Sharon from Ekron to Carmel. They were at Dor. Despite the bluster of Rameses, Palestine is lost to Egypt. This returning wave of Aegean and Asia Minor "Coast-Land" peoples strengthens the Kenaha (Canaan) with which Israelite settlers and refugees from Egypt have to deal. And they never gained possession of the coast! (Minoan Section 87.)

#### 190. Philistine Dominance, South Palestine, 1180-1003.

In the Old Testament, the term "Philistines" probably includes all the Aegean colonists massed in the southwest under Philistine hegemony. Excavations in South Palestine show that rude invaders from the Edomite highlands are led in development by the cultured Philistines. See the stories of David's training, his service as a Philistine captain, his Philistine bodyguard, etc. (Minoan Outlines, Sections 98-102). Egypt loses leadership at Gebal. See Wen-Amon, Egyptian envoy of 1110 B.C., (5th year of Rameses XII) Scorned by Zakar-baal the prince of Gebal. (Barton, 410 ff. ARE IV, 557-591; McAlister, 27-37). This prince tells Wen-Amon that the Birkat-El Corporation at Gebal owns 50 (or 10,000?) ships at Sidon, (Cf. AJA. 1925, p. 461). Wen-Amon tells us that Dor (above) is the port of the Zakkara. And the Sea has become the "Sea of the Hurrû" a most important admission.

#### 191. Northland culture Dominant.

The hour of weakness of the Zoan Ramesside Dynasty and Philistia's growth meant the rise of Israel's military power. David could make a kingdom because at that time Egypt could not. Libyans flocking into Egypt fill the army and give new virility to the ancient culture of the Northland, which, as already noticed, never fused with the Hamitic Southland or Nile Valley. This Northland culture has all North Africa as reserve-power for assimilating other peoples. But the Thebaid has no such reserve man-power.

#### 192. Hurrian Elements in David's Time.

There is no need to review David here. But the prominence of Hurrû elements of his time must not be ignored. Sayce (JTS, 1928, 401-406) calls attention to some of them.

Of principal human interest is his devoted captain "Uriah the Hittite," but Uriya, Uriya, is a perfectly good Hurrian name. Masoretic orthographic conventions spell the name with a final h; we now know that the provenance of OT names ending in -iah may be questioned. And the Hurrian captain's wife, Bath-Sheba, is recognized as a Semitic garbling of Buti-Khêba "servant of Khêba" (Greek "Hêbê"), the "Queen of Heaven" of Jeremiah 44:17, 25, etc.

Then "Priest," Hebrew Kohen: is it Arabic? Sayce points to Moscho-Hittite Kuanis; Carian Kaan, Kôn: Lydian Kauëin. That term was not spread through ancient Asia Minor by desert Bedouin.

Sayce also suggests that Uriya's name may be a shortening of the Hittite Uriyas, Uranis, Uriyana, "Captain of the body-guard." Araunah, the chieftain from whom David bought a temple site, is simply a title: the Hittite Araunis, "freeman, noble." Ezek. 16:3, 45, asserts a Hittite ancestry for Jerusalem. The vine came from the Armenian highlands, and the Hittite uinis became Greek oinos, Hebrew yâvin, Latin vinum, our "wine" or "vine." -- As to supposed theophoric names, he suggests "Eliam" or "Ammiel" is simply Hittite ammiel, "mine own."

Leaving pages remote from popular interest, we must point to the so-called "Hittite" code of laws, a translation of which is in Barton's Archeology and the Bible, and in J.M.P. Smith's "Origin and Development of Hebrew Law"; and a new one is being prepared by Dr. Ira M. Price. Without reviewing years of comparison, it has been concluded that old Hurrian law, 2500 B.C., was ethically higher than the code of Hammurabi; far higher than the late Assyrian. (Cf. Section 179-b). Semitizing dragged the Hurrian original of Assyria down very far. It appears that the Hurrian, not the Semite, contributed the noblest elements in the OT. The comparative study is worth time not possible in this survey. But any influence from Arabia filtering into Palestinian Israel is a re-



tarding influence. Cf. Minoan Section 10.

### 193. Tanis-Amon Dynasties 1090-945 B.C.

The so-called XXist Dynasty really means kings of the North arrayed against kings of the South again. Zoan or Tanis remains the seat of the Northern kings, of whom scarcely any monuments remain. The Southern priest-kings at Thebes are too much concerned with maintaining Egyptian orthodoxy to maintain good government and economical prosperity. Serious riots occur in Thebes itself (Hall 375).

But the Tanite kings evidently cultivate the Palestine of David's time. Petrie, excavating at Heliopolis, found at Kafr Ammar near by large quantities of a peculiar foreign pottery. It is now recognized as Hebrew pottery, of dates from 1000 to 600 B.C. Thus at the On of Joseph's time, Gen. 41:45, a Hebrew colony persisted through some centuries. May not some Hebrews have been there ever since Joseph's time? And other discoveries are made each season (Duncan 242-244).

### 194. Si-Amon and Solomon? 976-958.

What Pharaoh gave his daughter to Solomon? 1 Kings 9:16. It is not certain, but scholarly opinion inclines to Si-Amon, who was king at Zoan, and had a temple at Memphis. There seems no reason for Solomon allying himself to the remote and incompetent priest-dynasty at Thebes. But for 2000 years we have seen the eastern Delta ally itself with Palestine, with settlements of Syrian, Palestinian and Hurru peoples in the Delta over and over again. As above, David probably had some intimacy there. Brugsch (p. 365 ff.) credits Si-Amon with banishing 100,000 of his opponents. Some were probably Palestinian opponents. The author of 1 Kings 9:15 makes Solomon's father-in-law the author of Solomon's corvée-method of drafting labor. But Solomon's horse-trade (1 Kings 10:28 f.) is to be credited to Mutsri in Cilicia (not the Egypt "Mutsri") and to Kuē (the Lycaonia of Greek days). Deut. 17:16 is interpreted to mean Solomon furnished somebody with mercenary troops. That, added to his mercantile policy, planted some Yahwist military garrisons in distant lands. Megiddo has been proven to be one of Solomon's stable-cities, by University of Chicago excavations. Cf. Olmstead, 342-345.

### 195. Solomon and the proverbs of Amen-Ope.

It is at this time that the proverbs of Amen-ope become part of the Solomonic collection. (Proverbs 22:17-23:11. See Barton, 505-514; AJA, 1927, 363; 13 more, AJSL, Oct. 1926 and Journal of Religion, Jan. 1929: 99 ff: Oesterley, ZATW, 1927, 9-24; Peet, 99-112; R.O. Kevin, JSOR. 1932). It would seem that a fair conclusion after comparison should be upon comparison of the wisdom-literature of earlier periods in both lands. Unfortunately we have not a line from Palestine from any earlier period. Our present Book of Proverbs is an "anthology of the ages." From the Egyptian side we have:

1. Precepts of Ptah-hotep, on official duties. Section 72: Barton 507, Peet 100 f.
2. Precepts of Kagemni, official duties and decorum. Ostensibly from time of Third Dynasty. Section 57.
3. Instruction for King Meri-ka-Ra, one of the kings in the obscure period of Section 77: the passing of the Old Kingdom. By far the most significant of the older Egyptian wisdom. Cautions and warnings for conduct of foreign and domestic politics. Very notable religion moral admonitions. Peet, 108.
4. Amen-em-hat's Teaching, to his son Sesostri I. Cynical. Considering a life-work rewarded with ingratitude, he leaves the concrete admonition of a strongly reactionary policy. Peet, 107 f.
5. The Teaching of Duauf. Probably before Middle Kingdom. Praises the scribe vocation (scholar-official): Prescriptions for courtly decorum, morally unobjectionable conduct. Peet, 104 f.
6. Lansing Papyrus. Instruction of an official of the time of Rameses VI. Typical champion of the school-literature of the New Kingdom. Praise of the calling of an





official, which can be attained only by industry and self-discipline. Peet, 106.

7. Wisdom of Anfi. Badly preserved Mss. New Kingdom. Life rules. Strong moral religious emphasis. Peet, 111.

8. Amenope, above.

9. Teaching of Petosiris. A tomb inscription from the end of the fourth century B.C. The dead man admonishes those living after him, with a strong religious emphasis. Causse thinks that a certain Jewish influence is possible. That Jewish colonies had been in Egypt several centuries by the time of Petosiris, M. Causse does not consider. Osiridean ideas are accepted by Judaism: See Section 225.

10. Papyrus Insinger: "New Kingdom" - Latest Egyptian wisdom, written first century A.D. Moral and religious reflections, partly from old sources: evidently influenced by non-Egyptian spirit-life.

### Egyptian "Lamentations"

1. "The weary of Life." About 2000 B.C. His battle with his soul, finally consenting to a voluntary ending of life.

2. Complaint of the Peasant. Middle Kingdom. Nine well-constructed complaints about the wrongs done him, with moral-didactic purpose. The Hebrew prophet and modern sociologist are anticipated. Barton, 525 f.

3. Admonitions of an Egyptian Wiseman. Probably time collapse of Old Kingdom, resulting from the concrete situation. See 3 and 4 above. Counsel for overcoming the effects of the collapse, yet with a vein of the philosophical and moralizing tendency of the didactic literature. Barton, 528.

4. Lament Kha-Kheper-Ra<sup>\*</sup>-Senb. About 1900 B.C. Little concrete or individual; vague and general.

5. The Harp-Song. Two cantos. Middle of New Kingdom. All that is earthly is fleeting. Therefore enjoy life. Parallel to Ecclesiastes. Consider Breasted's Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.

### 196. Shashanq (Shishak) 945-924 B.C. Divides Palestine--Furthers Dispersion of Yahwism.

Shishak, (1 Kings 14:25) descendant of a Libyan prince Buyawawa (1150 B.C.), and grandson of Mehet-en-wesekh, seized the Delta throne. This involves the immemorial antipathy of the Mediterranean Libyan for the Nilotic Hamite, and the more or less Semitized population of the East Delta. May it be said that cultures impossible to blend or fuse in Egypt kept apart the equally distinct cultures of north and south Palestine? Consider the permanence of the Berber: Bodley 22, 35 ff. 195 ff, 240.

Now Shashanq establishes himself in the West Delta while Solomon's alliance has been with the East Delta Dynasty at Zoan. When this dynasty's introduction of the Egyptian corvée-system rouses opposition (1 Kings 9:15, 24; 11:1; 14-22), Jeroboam probably took many away with him (1 K. 11:40; 12:2-5). Then Shashanq seized Thebes, ending the priest-king squabbles, and gave one of his daughters to Jeroboam to wife. With Solomon married to the daughter of the Zoan Pharaoh, Palestine is rent in two by the Egyptian claimants: a fact deliberately suppressed in the OT. Compare the stingy note in 1 K. 14:25 with the fact that Shishak's invasion seems to be the most cataclysmic that Palestine ever experienced. The rival dynasty had swept away 100,000, some certainly opponents of Solomon's crushing taxation. Now Shishak records the capture of 156 towns and cities (ARE IV, 728), a large number of them in Jeroboam's territory. They must have been towns garrisoned by the rival Egyptian dynasty.

Excavations show the conquest to have been cataclysmic; many towns totally destroyed. He carries a host of Palestinians as captives and colonists to Egypt and Libya. N.B. We must recognize this as the beginning of Yahwist garrison-colonies: placed on



the frontiers of Egyptian domain in Africa. Note Rehoboam's rebuilding in 2 Chron. 11: 5-12: did not recover the southwest. (Observe Shashanq's list in Brugsch, Egypt under the Pharaohs, 376). The great temple of Rameses II at the "City of Rameses" the Hyksos Avaris (see Section 68) he wrecked, cutting up the colossi and pylons for buildings of his own. His name did not cling to the remodelled city, however. Num. 13:22; Ps. 78: 12, 43; Is. 19:11; 30:14, shows the old name of Zoan revived.

#### 197. Shashanq as Builder.

Through recent excavations at Gerar, Beth-pelet, Beth-Shean, Megiddo, etc. it has been discovered, in the language of Duncan, that Shashanq was the greatest of Egyptian builders in South Palestine. Besides his massive administration buildings at Beth-Pelet (Sharuhén?), he built a great wall 22 feet thick; of hard brick nearly double the usual size, and laid in clean sand-foundations five or six courses deep. It must have required tens of thousands of men. He was master of Rehoboam's territory, and of the Philistia-Red Sea route. He narrates his capture of Sharuhén, (ARE IV, 716). And the great Philistine metallurgical center at Gerar was sacked and rebuilt as an Egyptian factory-emporium. Its trade reached Italy, Cyprus, Assyria, and Central Asia.

#### 198. Shashanq: Jeroboam's "Calves"?

The LXX says Shashanq's sister-in-law was wife of Jeroboam: Abaher son, 1 K. 12: 24. 1 K. 14 does not complain of that, but 1 K. 11:14-22 credits this sister-in-law alliance to Hadad, an Edomite prince. But was Shishak the one who set up the "golden calves"? We have seen that ancient oriental diplomacy required official respect of each peoples' gods; Sections 143, 155, 93, and 132-b. He pushed across the Jordan to Mahanaim. One stele has been found at Megiddo, by Chicago University. He seized Beth-Shean again: 926 B.C. His insignia have been found there. Of all this the OT tells nothing.

As in Section 183 above, the Joseph-stories were given the present shape in this Rehoboam period. (Peet, 160 ff.) Was it done by Israelite colonies in Egypt? or by Israelites in Egyptian garrison-towns in Palestine?

But the Egypt of this Libyan dynasty is not the Egypt of the great XVIIIth Dynasty. That is gone, never to return. See Ezekiel 30:13, 350 years later. One African marauder after another rules.

#### 199. Osorkon I. 925-895.;-Son of Shashanq.

No monuments. The puzzling account of "Zerakh the Cushite" invading Judah in Asa's time, 2 Chron. 14:9-15 is suspected to be a copyist's blunder for Usarkn: damaged text. (But why Cushite instead of Libyan?) Reisner suspects some Arabian marauder of fifty years later. But, at Gebel Osorkon placed a rose-granite statue of himself. And the Phoenician King cut on it his presentation to the Lady of Gebel! asking her favor! He carefully left Osorkon's cartouche intact! It appears that Osorkon was "divinely" feared there - more records might show the same elsewhere in Palestine. (Cf. Knight 282 f; Olmstead 357; Dussaud, AJA, 1928, 87 f.)

#### 200. Osorkon II, 880-850. Long Dominance of Egyptian Art.

Records scanty. Notable for his extensive buildings and monuments at Bubastis--Pi-Beset of Ezek. 30:17 - about midway between Cairo and Zoan; also at Zoan, Tell-el-Maskhuta and Karnak. He is entitled to what further credit there may be in cutting and smashing other men's works (Hall 380). At Zoan he vied with Shashanq in such achievements: see Section 174.

On the walls of the restored sanctuary at Bubastis he left a boast that he had "trodden under foot the countries of Northern and Southern Syria." How much fact is in this? The temple was completed in the 22nd year of his reign; was that boast before his partnership with Ahab in the battle at Qarqar? For in this battle of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria, with Ahab of Israel and Benhadad of Damascus, and their allies,



Shalmaneser tells us that 1000 Egyptian troops were present. This was in 854. The activity of Egypt in Ahab's politics is shown by 2 Kings 7:6; the panicky Damascus king evidently expects the arrival of troops from Egypt at any moment. And in the wreck of Ahab's palace at Samaria the Harvard expedition found an alabaster jar with two cartouches of Osorkon II. The silence of the OT must be compared with its silence with regard to the tremendous activity of his grandfather Shishak. (Cf. Knight 283 f.; Hall 379 f.)

But against this silence there is concrete evidence. A scarab of his son, Shashanq II, was also found in Ahab's palace, 1905. And the current Anglo-American excavations at Samaria have found beautiful panels of ivory, carved with gods of the Egyptian pantheon, lotus flowers, and strange figures of animals. Are they from Ahab's "House of Ivory," 1 K. 22:29? Also the name of Hazael, king of Damascus, (850-800 B.C.) appears on an ivory plaque. (1 K. 19:15-17; 2 K. 8:15; 10:32; 12:17; 13:3, 22-25). His plaque shows battle between lion and bull. Others have sphinxes and cherubim. Compare decorated temple-rooms of Ezek. 8:7-10 (Journal de Genève, 8-10-1932). The American expedition finds the ivory fragments several thousand in number: mostly ruined by fire, and recognizes a long period of dominance of Egyptian art - which meant some religious symbolism. Amos 3:15; 6:4 was written 125 years after Osorkon's time. We are reminded also of Egypto-ophile Solomon's ivories, 1 K. 10:18-22.

Again, some of the ivories are highly finished Egyptian imports; others are crude efforts of local artists to present Egyptian subjects in Asiatic costumes and "Semitic" features. Israel had no "original" art.

We are further reminded of continued Egyptian dominance all along the Phoenician coast, with religious regalia, sarcophagi and burial-accessories (Section 54). The advent of Jezebel meant additional Egyptian contacts. Arabian merchants brought ivory-tusks to Tyre, Ezek. 27:15. We really cannot tell at present whether Jezebel's favorite baalim were Egyptian or "Phoenician." Like Egyptian ivories were found in 1928 at Arslan Tash, near ~~Carchemish~~. (N.Y. Times, 1-6-1934).

Alappo.

## 201. El-Amarna Days Recrudescant - The Semitized Hurrians.

The above collision with Shalmaneser III means that the shadows of Damascus and Nineveh will fall over Palestine for the next 200 years. But in Section 69 we saw that the Hurri founded Nineveh, and the Harran culture centered at Tell Halaf. Both regions have been Semitized. Akkadian influence was dominating Nineveh perhaps by Sargon's time (Section 68), while an Aramaean adventurer, Kapara, gained political control in Harran about 1200 B.C. (Section 142). From now on the situation in the El-Amarna Letters recurs. The Aramaized Hurrians of Mitanni are now centered at Damascus: The Assyrian power descending through the Orontes Valley repeats the menace of the Hittite power. Palestine will be rent by Egypt's resistance to these powers, and comments upon the political battle will appear in the prophets.

## 202. Rival Dynasties - Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fourth.

Following Osorkon II were Iuput, 825-818; Pami, 766-763. Shashanq IV, 763-725; Osorkon IV, 725-720. This chronology of Bubastis kings, of Shashank's line, extends to the fall of Samaria; the passing of the Israelite Monarchy. It is impossible to correlate Israel + Judah history with any one Pharaoh: yet Section 200 shows a continuous and powerful cultural influence, and Hosea and Amos, earliest of the literary prophets that remain to us, show a continuous and powerful political influence. Israel vacillates between Egypt and Assyria, or takes refuge there - some to be buried there - others to eventually return from colony or garrison. See Hosea 5:13; 7:11, 16; 8:9, 13; 9:3, 6; 11:5, 11; 12:1. (For AV "Shall return" read "will return" to Egypt: insists on it). Then observe Aven, in 4:15; 5:8; 10:5, 8. Without the Masoretic vowel-points the average reader would pronounce the word "On," of Gen. 41:45; Jer. 43:13; Ezek. 30:17. Scholars today incline to think that is what Hosea meant: that Bethel had actually become "Beth-On." But the Masoretes, disguising their ancestral history, have made the name "House of Nonsense." See Sections 198, 131-b; 1 K. 28 ff.

## 203. The Tanite-Thebes Dynasties: Libyans against Amon-Priests.

The above lists of the "Shishak" line leaves no place for the XXIIIrd Dynasty



850-735, except as a rival dynasty: so explained by the British Museum. Breasted is certainly to be amended here because of revolutionary discoveries in Nubia. The student cannot spend time on the perplexing details. This much is clear. Shishak, or Shashanq I was not welcome in Thebes, and some Amon priests probably fled to Nubia. Then on the death of Osorkon II, the high priest Harsiese, at Thebes, made himself king there, 850-836; succeeded by Pedubaste, he by Takelot II, seriously defeated by Libyan supporters of Shashanq III, above. Civil war continues: kings being the puppets of mayors of the palace, or of rival Libyans, or of anti-priest-rule leaders. (Hall, 380 f.) That this does not affect above statements of conditions in Palestine means that North Egypt, not Thebes, is the persistent cultural force: it was always so. Coastal intercourse persisted at all times.

#### 204. Libyan Versus Nubian Makes Hebrew Garrisons.

We are back at the beginning of things. The Mediterranean and Hamite will not fuse. The Libyan or Berber is incapable of empire, as was the Greek. Petty chieftains may cooperate for some desired object: the union is only momentary. The Hamitic and Negroid cults did not spread into the Berber Coasts. We have seen the great oracle of "Jupiter Ammon," 400 miles west by south of Cairo, with its sun-crowned long-legged Libyan sheep, to be and to remain essentially Berber. (De Prorok, A. & A, Nov. 1928, p. 177: Jan. 1931, p. 15). But it made Thebes capitulate, Section 114.

Now the Egyptian practice of employing mercenary troops means that under such civil war conditions northern factions employed Libyans, when they could hire Libyans to fight each other: the southern factions hired Nubians and Negroes. In El-Amarna and Philistine times we saw the employment of coast-peoples of Asia Minor. In the present recrudescence of an ancient situation, we will see the employment of Greeks, and of Asia-tics again. (Hall 186, 188). A first step in that direction we can recognize in the advance of the Assyrian King Sargon, in the second year of his reign, two years after the fall of Samaria. Yaubidi of Hamath has stirred up a revolt in which Samaria again takes part. Capturing Hamath, Sargon enrolls 600 of its cavalry and two hundred of its chariots in the army with which he rolls through Samaria, leaving 6000 Assyrians in Hamath. He had done the like at Samaria the year before; but the broken text leaves only 50 chariots of the levy legible. So he meets Egypt at Raphia with a host of Palestinian and Syrian additions to his ranks; the correlate of which is that anti-Assyrians are enrolling in the Egyptian army (ARA II, 4, 5, 55). The destruction of Raphia with deportation of 9,033 people was a heavy blow to Egypt, which will be reflected in Section 211. The sum of it is that any dissatisfied Palestinian and Syrian adventurers can get a job in the Egyptian army. Since Shashanq's policy (Section 196) Israelites have spread far, on trade-coasts and in military colonies. From Carthage, about 750 B.C., comes the Sarcophagus of Joab, a great Carthaginian general in Berber tradition, and confused in folk-tale with the Joab of David (LTM, 232).

#### 205. Dynasties XXIV - XXV, Synchronous -- Hebrews Man the Egyptian Armies.

Hall makes the XXIVth to be Tefnakhte and Bak-en-renef, Greek Bocchoris, <sup>his</sup> ruling at Sais in the Libyan Delta, from the fall of Samaria to 712 B.C. while an Ethiopian or Nubian Dynasty seizing southern Egypt about 745 B.C. rules till 663, when a new Saite Dynasty succeeds. Reisner with later information from excavations, would make Tefnakhte's power at Sais begin earlier.

But ere considering these new rivals for empire notice again Hall's statement about the change in Egyptian mercenaries, with the beginning of the Saite period. There were two main bodies of troops: the Kalasiries, and the Hermotybies (Greek forms). But "Kalasiries" is the Egyptian Khal-Sere, "Young Syrians"; while "Hermotybies" is the Egyptian Römdjeba or "Spearmen" — Herodotus reports such divisions in the Egyptian army in his time, 300 years after the beginning of the Saite hegemony! — But Hall explains that the "spearmen" are Greek mercenaries, with their characteristic weapons, while the "Young Syrians" are simply "exiled Jews" — better, "Hebrews". But the "exiles" are largely voluntary. Read Jer. 40:11 ff. Israelite refugees have fled into Moab, Ammon, and Edom; yet some became at once agents or tempters of local kings, and continue to be dangerous factors in home-land politics. It always was so!





## 206. Shubari Becomes "Syrian"; Yehûdah Becomes "Jew".

The above terms need a little clarification. We have seen, in El-Amarna times, the name Shubari as the mountain region from which the Hurri spread, the Hurri language of the west being a dialect of the Shubari: Section 145. But the term Shubari occurs later as Su-wa-ri, Su-û-ri. So by the time of Herodotus, as he tells us, the Greeks were using the term Su-û-ri, "Syria," for the whole highland region from the east end of the Black Sea to the frontier of Egypt (See LTM, "Syria."). Actually we have seen the Hurri people gradually dispersed throughout the whole region. It is not strictly accurate then to explain "Young Syrians" as Palestinians only.

Secondly, there are no Jews in the OT. The name of the tribe Judah is "Yehûdah"; Aramaic "Yehûd" - adopted in Arabic; a "man of Judah" is "Yehûdi." The Greeks and Romans shortened Yehûd into Ioud, Iûd. Germans still say "Yûd" - some other folks have lost the d! But "Judaism, Jew" as technical religious terms, appear only after the Babylonian exile has wrought. The Yahu-worship, or Yahwism, of the OT times, had to lose much and gain some, to become modern Judaism.

Recurring now to the Khal-Shêre, from the beginning of Sâite hegemony, refugees, adventurers or captives from Palestine made a large part of the Egyptian army. Read Jer. 42-44. Did not something like that happen when Samaria fell, 135 years before? Of those who took service in the Egyptian army, some were good Yahwists, some were not.

## 207. Egypt in Isaiah - Israelite Garrisons and Colonies.

To the dominance of Egyptian religious art from Ahab's time to the fall of Samaria, (Section 200) and to the Egyptian evidence that Hebrews began to fill up Egyptian armies, add references in the extant prophets. Isaiah 7-10 is a protest to a young and frightened Ahab, who is appealing to Assyria, 738 B.C; and in 11:11 the return of colony-remnants in Assyria, Lower Egypt, Pathros (Upper Egypt), Cush (Nubia), Elam (Persian Mountains), Shinar, (Lower Babylonia), Hamath, and the Sea-coasts (Mediterranean) is assured. It is interesting that Hamath, counted an Israelite frontier in Solomon's time (1 K. 8:65) is now an "exile" region. An Egyptian Shebna is the Egyptian "Scribe-in-charge" and tribute-treasurer: apparently mayor of the palace also, in Hezekiah's time (2 Kings 18:18, 37; 19:2; Is. 36:3, 11, 22; 37:2). In Isaiah 22:15 ff., thinking Egypt's grip on the land is permanent, he is preparing an Egyptian cliff-tomb for himself. Is. 18 addresses the ambassadors of a "tall sleek people beyond the rivers of Nubia" in Northern Abyssinia. In 27:13 "Outcasts" in Egypt (Cf. Gen. 43:32) and ruined Israelites in Assyria will return. In Is. 19 a temporary anarchy and clashing parties in the Delta are pictured; Pathros and Nubia not mentioned. But Egypt is frightened at the prospect of an army (of mercenaries?) from Judah; and when it arrives, five (garrison)-towns of the Delta will speak the sea-coast? lingo, and the city of the sun (On-Heliopolis) will be one of them. For the Delta is actually going to beg help from Judah and Yahu! (verses 17-35). In Chap. 20, the Nubian rule in Egypt will not be able to resist Sargon. In 30:1-5, the taking refuge in Egypt will be in vain - it is not possible for Egypt to unite her forces: the same in 31:1-3. Rabshakeh rails at the broken reed of Egypt in 36:5-10, but no personal thrust at Shebna is recorded. And in 27:1 the "Egyptian Crocodile" will be killed; a parallel to the smiting of the seven streams of the Delta in 11:15.

That we cannot place each utterance chronologically - that is, determine in what Pharaoh's time each was spoken, is immaterial to the present purpose.

Recurring to Hamath, Isaiah lived to hear of its sack by Sargon of Assyria. Sargon tells us that Ya'u-bidi of Hamath, whom he calls "a wicked Hittite," was the originator of a coalition against Assyria, consisting of Hamath, Arpad, Simirra, and Damascus. This fact does not appear in the OT. The allies were met and defeated at Karkar, where Ahab and Osorkon II were beaten 130 years before (Section 200). Yaubidi was captured and far-off point whence Israelite colonists long to return, it is seized by a Yahu-worshiping? adventurer. The coalition Sargon smashed in detail. See Section 210.

## 208. Twenty-Fifth Dynasty "Ultra-Nubian."

Hall, closing the XXIIIrd Dynasty with Osorkon III, and Rud-Amon, observes that the



last owed his throne to an Ethiopian, Kashta, who broke in and compelled Osorkon III's daughter, Shepenopet, the High-Priestess at Thebes, to adopt his own daughter, Amonirdis, so that she would in turn be High-Priestess. Kashta died about 742? and his son Piankhi became sole king of the South. Hall wonders if Kashta were descended from the Theban priestly royal family driven into Nubia by Shashang I, two centuries before, and considered that he had a hereditary-claim to the kingdom. He made himself a co-king with Rud-Amon, who disappears a few years after Piankhi's accession.

But Dr. George A Reisner's revolutionary discoveries at Napata, combined with Steindorff's at Anibe and Griffith's at Kawa, prove that the new dynasty was not Nubian. He found that a great empire with capital at Napata had ruled Egypt from that point. (Harvard Theol. Review, 1920, 23-24; ILN, 1-27-1922). On the basis of the discoveries he places Piankhi at 743-722; his son Shabaka, 722-700; Shabataka, 700-689; Tirhakah, 689-663.

## 209. A New Race Makes Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

Reisner's Harvard excavations were at Napata, the Arab Merawi, Greek Meröe, 447 miles above the second Cataract. The relics of a great empire; a single dynasty lasting near 900 years; did not connect with ancient Egyptian dynasties. Napata was their capital. It had been recognized that the northern Nubians, contemporary with pre-dynastic Egypt, were a "small, dark-haired, black-eyed people, glabrous, like the dark Libyans of the Mediterranean Seaboard." That is, they were a Hamitic people. Their culture was essentially that of predynastic Egypt, with no negroid trace. The tradition that Egypt's predynastic kings were "Cushite" points to this race. (McMichael, History of the Arabs in the Soudan, p. 15). During the Old Kingdom these Nubians were often mercenaries in the Egyptian army, and there was some Egyptian domination, 3400-2500 B.C.

Then George Steindorff of Leipzig began excavating at another ancient capital Anibe, Nov. 30, 1930; results in ILN, 9-19-1931. He recognized six Egyptian strata: the oldest about 1900 B.C. Somewhere in the period of collapse between the Old Kingdom and the New (about 2250 B.C.?) a new race had broken into Nubia. Even the traditions and conventions of the Old Kingdom times were lost in Middle Kingdom times. The renewed conquests of Nubia in Middle Kingdom times - as by Amen-em-hat I, - were necessitated by this new people. How much new energy this people infused into Upper Egypt is not yet determinable.

Then in the winter of 1930 Llewellyn Griffith, for the University of Oxford, began excavating at Kawa, close by Dongola, about 100 miles west of Meröe-Napata. In less than three months he bared twelve temples, buried in twelve feet of sand and debris. The Old Kingdom's colony had perished, forgotten for a thousand years, when Amen-hotep III built here his city for the Aton-Cult; Gem-p-Aton, "The Aton is founded." (Section 136). But with Rameses VI, Egypt disappears from that region. The new race is too mighty for her. So far as records go, a historic blank follows. The monuments of the new people are as yet undeciphered. But some of the XXVth Dynasty monuments are at Kawa. (Griffith, F. & R, 6-10-1931).

## 210. Shabaka 714-700. "Seb\*a" or So?"

Sargon of Assyria tells that Hanno of Gaza had secured Egypt's help, and that Sib'a, the turtan or "commander-in-chief" of the Egyptian troops came to help Hanno at Raphia, and ran away! The "So (Seve?) king of Egypt" in 2 K. 17:4, perplexes. Efforts to identify this Sib'a with Shabaka overlook the fact that he is not the "Piru" or "Pharaoh" but a chief of the army, or frontier-captain. (For speculations see Knight 297.) There is the further difficulty that Sargon's son, Sennacherib, who defeats the Philistines and Egypt at El-Tekeh, writes of "Kings of Egypt" - there is more than one in his time (ARA II, 55, 240, 311) - together with "Chariots and bowmen of Meluppha" (Nubia?) This, four times repeated, shows the chronological difficulty. Sennacherib did not recognize a consolidated Nubia-Egypt. And as this third campaign of his was the one in which he scared Hezekiah at Jerusalem, which Egyptian faction did Shebna in

Section 207 represent? We cannot tell yet. Olmstead, on the basis of a lump of clay bearing the impression of the seal of Shabaka and the much smaller one of some Assyrian king, concludes they finally made a treaty of peace (HA, 309). That would not prove Shabaka the Pharaoh at the time of the battle; the treaty could have been years later.



Reisner also (HTR 1920) does not think Shabaka the SO of 2 K. 17:4: the fall of Samaria, 720 B.C., puts this SO in 724, before Sargon was king - a point which Hall does not consider. (Hall, 382 ff.) The LXX gives Sba and Segor as the equivalents of "So" in 2 K. 17:4, making matters worse. So cannot be identified at present.

## 211. Shabaka--An Egyptian "King Arthur" or "Barbarossa,"--Jewish Apocalyptic.

Around Bocchoris (Section 205) a glamour of legend has arisen. Greek tradition credits him with being one of the six great law-givers of Egypt. Aelian says he was so impious as to use the sacred Mnevis Bull for the sports of a bull fight! But that is only Libyan (and Jew?) against Hamite again! He is courting the Greeks: they are made welcome in Sais territory: and shortly after his death found their long-famous Naucratis about fifty miles east-southeast of the site of Alexandria. Bocchoris may have been increasing his "Young Syrian" garrisons also. But the New Ethiopians grow suspicious. When he moves from Sais to Memphis Shabaka pounces on him (because of the Mnevis bull?), overpowers and burns him. See Knight 296, 301. Note the Lamb Oracle, time of Bocchoris, Barton, p. 523. It is of first importance to compare carefully Section 114. The Amon-priesthood at Thebes have manufactured an oracle that despite the ravaging of Egypt by Nineveh (Section 204) the men of Egypt will go into Syria and Amor, smite them, and bring back the chapels of Egypt's gods. And they put the oracle in the mouth of the "lamb-incarnation" of Amun, in the interest of Shabaka: turning the Libyan "Sheep-oracle," against the Libyan king! And the "lamb" announces that the prediction was made 900 years before! - about the time of the Hyksos expulsion! It is the method of the later Jewish apocalyptic! Ezekiel, 120 years later, will use four beasts instead of one! Ezek. 1:5; 10:14.

The Bocchoris-saga develops after 712; the dream of the return of this ancient "King Arthur" is a power that stirs the soul of Libyan Egypt to repeated revolt against Nubian oppression (R. & R., June 10, 1931). Read C. C. McCown, Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature, in HTR, 1925, 357-411. Cf. Godbey, "The Pagan Millennium," MQR, July-Aug. and Sept. Oct. 1926.

## 212. Shabataka: 700-689, Reisner.

Nephew of Amen-irdis, Section 208. Sennacherib's campaign, above, to punish Hezekiah for seizing Padi, pro-Assyrian king of Ekron, many think occurred in Shabataka's time (Knight, 302-305). Reisner doubts if Egyptian troops came to El-Tekeh at all. But Sennacherib's drive would send thousands flying to Egypt, and into Arabia. Hezekiah had secured Arab and "volunteer" (friendly tribes?) troops to defend Jerusalem, and they left, Sennacherib says. Certainly some refugees from Judah would go with them (Annals, p. 33, 70). And Isaiah 22 and 31 are thought to picture the panic-stricken city.

## 213. Taharqa, 689-663. The Tirhakah of 2 K. 19:9.

Let us begin with the fact that tombs recently discovered on the east side of the Nile, about 200 miles from the Suez frontier, prove to be those of a Jewish community there in the days of Taharqa, Psamtik I, Necho II. Whether a garrison-post or civil community did not appear in early reports. But the three reigns cover almost 100 years, and overlap Isaiah's observations about Israel communities long dispersed in many lands. (Cf. LTM, index).

Read Knight 305-311. Very imaginative! Taharqa was not a negro. Reisner (HTL 1920, 30). Also, he was never captured. The much-circulated picture of Esarhaddon thrusting his spear into the eyes of a kneeling negroid figure held by a cord through the lips does not portray Taharqa, whom Esarhaddon distinctly compliments.

A brother of Shabataka, Taharqa, was of great force of character: and with support of the Amon-priesthood secures enthusiastic support of Sudan and Upper Egypt. In answer to his prayer Amon loosed upon Egypt an unusually high Nile: unprecedented rains in the desert; destructive swarms of locusts, and of rats. A four-fold miracle! Then he prospered 20 years - mightiest king of the age. But Tirhaka's Soudan warriors had bronze; Assyrian had iron; and the Libyan nomes of Lower Egypt were ready to help Esarhaddon



capture Memphis, and the harem of Taharqa! Baal of Tyre has secured the support of Taharqa and thrown off allegiance to Assyria. So Esarhaddon's tenth campaign, late in his own reign, is to penetrate Egypt. He finds Taharqa no coward; the way to Memphis is stubbornly contested fifteen days, and five times there are hand-to-hand conflicts of Esarhaddon and Taharqa (ARA II, 556, 580, 710). As for the plunder of Memphis, "I plucked the root of Cush out of Egypt. I left not one to surrender to me;" which makes it clear that the Mediterranean Saites had convinced him that if he would get the Nubians out of Egypt, there would be no trouble with them! These princes were rewarded by Esarhaddon with positions as governors of provinces, and Necho of Sais was their chief (ARA II, 771).

#### 214. Judaism Not Hamitized - Manasseh's "Young Syrians".

One net result of the campaign opened by Esarhaddon and finished by his son at Thebes within ten years was the termination of any New Nubian dreams of flooding Palestine. We have seen New Nubian negotiations with Jerusalem in Isaiah, Section 207; and Assyrian records show their success in winning some kings of the Phoenician coast. Shall we compare their hurling back to the stopping of the Saracens near Tours by Charles Martel in 732 A.D., and to the defeat of the Turks at Vienna by John Sobieski in 1683? Esarhaddon tells that in the third great battle of his approach to Memphis across the desert that there were 200,000 men arrayed on each side. It goes without saying that Esarhaddon had not marched his enormous force all the way from Nineveh. He has recorded in building inscriptions prior to this last campaign, the names of twelve vassal-kings of Syria-Palestine, and of ten more in Cyprus, who were required to send him building materials. (ARA II 690). Every Assyriologist knows the habit of ancient Oriental kings of levying upon each loyal or conquered town for troops and supplies for extension of a campaign. Only thus could Nineveh invade Egypt. Nahum 2:8 pictures all her non-Assyrian soldiery bolting for home, when the walls are breached. Thus Esarhaddon swept into Egypt with levies exacted from his Palestine-Syria vassals. He tells us Manasseh of Judah was one of them. Combined with North Israel levies, many Hebrews are being garrisoned in Egypt.

#### 215. Taharqa Counter-Plots. Philistine and Sea-Peoples Again.

Esarhaddon left each of his twenty governors supported by a foreign garrison, in 670 A.D. But soon after he reached Nineveh in 669, news came that Taharqa had swooped on Egypt, seized Thebes and massacred Assyrian garrisons in the Delta. The sick old king furiously volleyed curses, and set out to suppress the revolt, but died upon the road. His son Aššurbanipal, after some disturbing years at home, in annals far more detailed than his father's specifies that he mustered the forces of the twelve vassal kings in Syria-Palestine, and of the ten in Cyprus, and descended upon Egypt by land and sea. Manasseh of Judah, with largest territory and being near, must have again contributed a large contingent. But the king of Gaza, the king of Ashdod, the king of Ekron, with four kings of the Phoenician Coast, are among the number. "The Philistines be upon thee, Samson!" (The other three are Edom, Ammon, and Moab.) Egypt has seen nothing like it since the day of Rameses III, Sections 187-189. We are shown sharply how much colonizing, willy-nilly, was involved in ancient Oriental wars (ARA II, 770, 771, 690).

Taharqa waited at Memphis and sent forth his army, which was beaten. He fled raging to Thebes. Aššurbanipal captured it, and reinstated his father's governors; but as soon as he was gone, they began secret negotiations with Taharqa, offering to concede him Upper Egypt if he would agree to let Saites Egypt alone. As for the foreign garrisons, a simultaneous massacre was planned. Intercepted letters revealed the plot to some garrison officials? who seized the twenty kinglets and sent them to Nineveh.

Query: Had these Assyrian appointees found Asiatic troopers more intolerable than Taharqa's? -- Aššurbanipal selected Necho and sent him back to his post at Sais, and appoints his son Psamtik I governor at Athribis, about 318 miles above Cairo. That will stir the jealousy of Thebes. (ARA II, 774).

#### 216. Taharqa Passes -- Tanut-Amon, 663-650 -- Destruction of Thebes.

Taharqa dies about that time. His nephew Tanut-Amon, son of Shabaka, rules at





Kawa: Necho I moves down to Memphis. Then Tanut-Amon descends the Nile, seizes Thebes, to have the Amon-cult support. Psamtik I flees to Palestine; probably had a Palestinian garrison at Athribis. But Tanut-Amon killed Necho at Memphis. The beleaguered Assyrian garrison sent word to Nineveh; Assurbanipal came back like a rolling snowball; Tanut-Amon abandoned Memphis, and fled to Thebes. Assurbanipal saw there would be no peace between the northern Libyans and the traditions of Thebes. He marched his multitudes up the river to Thebes, sacked and destroyed it (ARA II, 775-778). See Nahum 3:8-10. And he returned Psamtik I as king at Sais the same year. Tanut-Amon disappears.

Taharka's Amon-temple at Kawa had five great granite obelisks, of sixth and tenth years of his reign. Sculptures and memorials of his reign. Besides, a stele of Aner-Amon and one of Amon-hinoarok show relations of god and king. (Griffith, F. & F. 6-10-1931).

#### 217. Psamtik I, 663-609 B.C. Reckoning from date of appointment of his father and himself.

First note again Section 205-206: that in Saitic times Khal-Sere, "Young Syrians," were the main body of the Egyptian army. Is it not plain, from the foregoing, that Assurbanipal left Psamtik well-backed with garrisons of various "Young Syrians"? Yet we have not regarded Assurbanipal as a prominent agent in placing Hebrew colonies in Egypt, nor as preparing the way for the North African Christianity. It is notable, in this connection, that Psamtik's fine profile-relief, published by the British Museum, shows the peculiar hypsicephalic "straight-backed" Hurrian head - as remote as possible from the "long-heads" familiar in Egyptian reliefs. The Egyptian romance of "The Armour of Inaros," written in Roman times, tells how "Thirteen Asiatics" aided by a treacherous priest of Buto in the Delta, seized the holy Boat of Amon, and were routed by an Ethiopian prince. The romance contains several names of the chieftains mentioned in the Assyrian annals above cited. (Hall, 74 f.) It is clear that the "Thirteen Asiatics" were the Assyrian king and the twelve vassal-kings of Syria-Palestine, in Section 215.

But where are Psamtik's "Hermotybies" - Greek "spearmen" - of Section 205? It seems that Assyria appointed him chief of twelve district-kings, and that he at once set to work to get rid of these in his own way, without offending Assyria. Instead of calling for more heavy-armed Assyrian troops, he began employing Greek and Carian mercenaries. This period lives in Greek tradition as the time of the "Dodecarchy" - "rule of twelve." (Esarhaddon in 669 had appointed 20.) By 651, all Assyrian garrisons were withdrawn, and at Pelusium was a Greek garrison; close by was a Milesian or Carian one at Daphne; the OT Tahpanhes. Under its protection a flourishing trade-settlement sprung up (Hall, 385).

#### 218. Foreign Policy of Psamtik I.

He must rank as one of the greatest of Egypt's kings. His fostering Libyan development brought trade-colonies to the coast 631 B.C., 500 miles west of Alexandria; and this colony, called "Cyrene" in Roman times, developed rapidly (LTM, 208-217). Jewish tradition points out the site of many Jewish garrisons that protected traffic-highways. He placed a Jewish garrison at Elephantine, at the first cataract, to become famous in our time for many records of the community and the temple during the next 250 years. (LTM, 132, 190, 195, 207, 214, 596). He drove back the Iranian Scythians, an advance-wave of the Medo-Persian migration, reflected in earlier fragments of Jeremiah and in Zephaniah; smiting Gaza; Jer. 47:1-7. The Greek tradition is that their raids were opposed by Psamtik for 28 years; they could not get into Egypt. But such stress certainly drove more Palestine refugees into Egypt. It should be observed that Zeph. 3:10; in the Scythian time, asserts that "from beyond the rivers of Nubia (that is, from northern Abyssinia) the Daughter of my Dispersed shall bring offerings"! Zephaniah himself was ben-Cushi - "an Ethiopian"? with several ancestors of Hebrew name. Those Jewish colonies may have originated the political embassy in Isaiah 18. (Cf. LTM, 190, 191). Cf. Knight 314-318. And the old king, ever watchful of the Iranian invasion, sent a great army to aid Assyria 616-612, when politically tottering. (Barton, p. 538 f.; Godbey, LTM 287).

As for his Greek garrisons, at Daphne and Naucratis Greeks began to take lessons in art. See PFE, 164 ff, profusely illustrated. Conversely, Greek pottery of this century has been found recently on the Palestine coasts. In QDAP 1932, pp. 15-26, five plates, Prof. J. H. Iliffe shows four sherds from Ascalon of this century, and 28 of



600-400 B.C. at Tell Jemmeh, eight miles south of Gaza. Five are of black-figure ware, of which few have been found outside of Greece, and none so far south before. Add that at Beth-Zur Albright and Sellers found Greek sherds ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the early second. Among the many coins found, nine were Greek or imitation Greek of the fifth and fourth centuries (BASOR, 43; JAOS 1932, p. 301; ZATW, 1933, p. 78). So Psamtik I started a Greek period in Palestine 300 years before Alexander the Great.

## 219. Egypt and Emigrants in Jeremiah.

Jeremiah and Isaiah are the only two extant prophets who lived and plead through great war and siege periods and who in consequence have much to say about the current political vacillations and of Hebrew colonies in other lands. As Jeremiah begins to speak in the latter part of the reign of Psamtik I and continues into the days of Hophra, it is well to note here some of his sayings. There are none that are clearly aimed at Psamtik. The earlier collection of his writings was destroyed (Chap. 36), and re-written fragments referring to the Scythian invasion lack names and detail. Perhaps Jeremiah had encouraged Psamtik against Scythians.

In 2:14 f. the Greek garrison at Daphne is familiar, and another at Memphis. Probably Manasseh had allied himself with Scythians and got punished. Israel now has nothing to expect from the "waters of Horus" or the "waters of the Tigris." (The capture of Samaria by Sargon a hundred years before had not ended Israel. Current modern misconceptions are to be discarded.) Both will disappoint you, v. 36. - In 16:14, 23:7, 31:8, 32:37; 33:7; 46:27 f, Israel is already dispersed in many lands - especially in the north; yet Jeremiah hopes for their return. In 26:32, in the time of Necho, his creature Jehoiakim secures the surrender of Uriah; for anti-Egyptian utterances?

Notable is the fact in 40:11 that refugees from Judah had gone to Moab, Ammon, Edom, and other lands, during the time of the Chaldeans in Palestine, and the following fact that such emigrants might be agents of the land where they settled. The student should realize that every great war in Palestine had produced such results. Compare 27:3 ff. In 43 the proposal to take a new refuge in Egypt is debated, and the emigrants go to the Greek garrison at Daphne, on the eastern border of the Delta. But there are other and older colonists at the Migdol, and at Memphis and in the Thebaid (Pathros), in 44:1; as already shown, somewhere older than Isaiah's time.

In 46:3 ff. the mail-clad Greeks are beaten at Carchemish, together with Nubians and Hamites from Punt, and Ludim, who may be the New Nubians of the Taharqa Dynasty. Necho is not sacrificing his Libyan fellows, so long as he can hire foreigners to do his fighting. We have no hint of how many "Young Syrians" were in the battle of Car hemish. But in 46:14-17, the disgusted mercenaries of Migdol, Daphne and Memphis say that Necho missed an opportunity and propose to return to their own land; compare Hezekiah's Arabs and other allies in Section 212. Such action was always possible in times of great reverse: 46:20 f. This is another reverse for Amon of Thebes! 46:25.

In 50:6 ff. the existence of Israelite colonies in Babylonian territories is acknowledged, and they are urged to flee from coming armies. Some such colonies are farmer-folk in verse 16. Israelite emigrants may get back to Palestine, 17 ff, but at present are not allowed to leave, v. 33. Again in 51:6 Israelite colonies are urged to flee out of Babylonia. In 51:30 Babylon's foreign troops refuse to fight; comparable to Nineveh's troops running away when the walls are breached: Nahum 2:8. And in 51:45 f., 50, Israelite colonies are again warned to flee; rumored outbreaks give timely warning.

## 220. Emigrants are Not Prisoners: "Slaves" May be "Free"!

The use of our modern term "captivity" with regard to Israelite migrations is wholly misleading, and without basis in the Hebrew. "Captive" and "Captivity" are in our AV because the translators did not know ancient Oriental institutions. The verb used in 2 K. 17:6, 18, 23, 26, 27, 28, 33 is the causative form of gālah, "to remove." "Made them remove," or "migrate," is what Assyria did. And the Hebrew noun Gōlah is not "captivity," imprisonment, but "emigration."

The above Jeremiah passages assume large freedom of action on the part of the emigrants. Read Jer. 29:4 ff. As tersely said by modern Jewish scholars, "They were free



citizens in a free country." Choice with regard to such migration appears in 2 K. 18: 29-32, and 24:12.

The system is old. Sociologists know that when small clans or tribes begin to federate, and are not nomadic, they often equalize economic opportunities by periodical exchanges of tribal lands. The system still survives in some places. It also serves to separate two neighbor-clans that are quarreling. Assyria did not invent the plan: it was far older. A modern example is the removal of French colonists from Acadia to Louisiana. See LTM 121 ff.

Also, servitude in the Orient is not at all what the western uncivilization has made it. In Jer. 34:8 ff. appears a familiar institution. Individual slaves may elect to join the regular army. Zedekiah had filled his thin ranks that way, and then failed to live up to the contract. We have an armed force made of hereditary slaves in Gen. 14: 14. Anyone of them, like Eliezer of Damascus, might become chief of the tribe: 15:2 f. Such "King's slaves" as powerful militia are known in Egypt's later history as "Mamelukes" (*malak*, "to possess, rule"; *Melek*, "a king" in Hebrew). And *Ebed-melek*, "servant of the king," as in Jer. 38:7, is really "Officer of the king." The student looking back now over the thousand years before Jeremiah, will gain a larger comprehension of the many Hebrew migrations, and the varied activities and potential influence of such colonies.

## 221. Necho II, 609-593 -- Josiah Pro-Scythian?

Maintains army of Greek mercenaries, a fleet on the Mediterranean, another on the Red Sea. Reopens Seti I's canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. Beth-Shean is henceforth "Scythopolis," "Scythian town," to the Greeks. Psamtik's long anti-Scythian struggle does not seem to have dislodged them. Under that Scythian shadow Josiah began his iconoclasm, 2 K. 23. Continuing the anti-Iranian war of his father, Necho dashed out to Carchemish and took it, 609 B.C., and held it four years. As he returned, Josiah tried to stop him at Megiddo, 608 B.C. What were Josiah's political affiliations? They are debated. - (Knight 319-325, does not see the issue) - Nebuchadnezzar, still only crown prince, recaptures Carchemish in 605. Relics of the Egyptian occupation of Carchemish are in the British Museum: Some inscribed with Necho's name. (Hall, 386). The anti-Egyptian faction at Jerusalem migrates to Babylonia, 2 K. 24:10-16, and is assigned frontier-garrison duty at Nehardea; See LTM, s.v.

Relative to Gedaliah of Mizpeh, Jer. 40, 41, Dr. Badé in 1932 found in one of the rich tombs at Mizpeh, a seal with the familiar Egyptian eye-amulet, and the name Jaazaniah, Ebedhmlk ("officer of the king," above). He is mentioned in 2 K. 23 and Jer. 40: 8, as one of those accept Gedaliah's protection. Mizpeh seems to have been a suburb of wealthy Jerusalem folk as early as Thothmes III. It is possible that the Babylonians really appointed Gedaliah as king: precedents point to that. That would be one reason for a rival of the royal family killing him.

## 222. Psamtik II, 593-588: Confused with his Father?

Herodotus II, 30, says the garrison at Elephantine, angered at not having been relieved for three years, renounced the service of the Pharaoh and went over to the Ethiopians and that the Nubian king gave them settlements in his territory: that Psamtik went with Jewish mercenaries to punish them. The fact may be that the first garrison moved on to join the older ones mentioned by Zephaniah, and that Psamtik took the second one to replace it. The story throws a little light on the self-assertion of such garrisons. But a stele found at Karnak makes it appear that Psamtik I made a Nubian expedition with Greek mercenaries who left many inscriptions at Abu Simbel (Sayce, *Expos. Times*, 1911, p. 92.). Such Nubian expedition should belong to his "Dodecarchy" days (Section 217) when he was wresting authority from the other eleven district kings. Some monuments and small objects of Psamtik II are in the British Museum, but no records. (Hall, 386).

## 223. Uahib-Ra, 588-566; Greek "Apries"; OT "Hophra".

Noticed in Section 219, 220. Consider Ezekiel. An emigrant to Babylonia in 597, Jerusalem was captured in 586. He hears of it in the twelfth year of his residence in



Babylonia; Ezek. 33:21. Hophra had been king two years: Ezekiel's last dated writings are fifteen years later, Ezek. 29:17. Observe (1) the absence of any criticism of Judah-politics. (2) His repeated assertion that Israel had always been defiled with Egyptian religious institutions. (3) His incessant assertion during his first twelve years that Egypt shall be overthrown. But it is not! So in his 27th year, Hophra's eighteenth, he declares Nebuchadrezzar shall overthrow Egypt, though he had failed in thirteen years to take Tyre. But there is no record that Nebuchadrezzar ever attacked Hophra. (Knight, 328-341, recognizes this.).

Per contra, Hophra conquered Tyre in a naval battle, says Herodotus iv, 116, and subjugated all the Phoenician coast. Nebuchadrezzar had no navy. These conquests meant more "young Syrians" for the Egyptian colonies. That he welcomed Judah's fugitives Jeremiah has shown us. He cultivates the Greeks, fosters Naucratis and Daphne, and Cyrene busies him. See LTM, "Cyrene."

Another proof of Palestinian settlements in Egypt is properly placed here. Twenty-four years ago Lidzbarski visited Abydos, in the "Pathros" of the OT and copied over 70 Phoenician and Aramaic memorial inscriptions then visible in the ruined Egyptian temples. These contain over 100 names. They date from about the time of Hophra down to 200 B.C. (Lidzbarski, 3:93-116). We should remember the great body of those who would not put their memorial inscriptions in an Egyptian temple, and the still larger body of pious unlearned poor who would not have a memorial inscription anywhere - Reports of later finds are not at hand.

#### 224. Hophra: Nebuchadrezzar - Yahwism at a Parting of the Ways.

That Yahwism in Babylonia will produce a Talmud, and lose much ritual, and produce rabbis to displace priests is familiar to scholars. But dispersions of Yahwist communities along the whole North African coast through the centuries we have seen to be among a people neither Semitic nor Hamitic, and steadily resisting Hamitization or fusion with Hamitic and negroid therio-morphic cults of the Middle and Upper Nile. The Cyrene activities of Psamtik and Hophra meant a direct influence for nearly a thousand miles west of the Nile. In a clash between the inland pure "Berbers" and those intermarried with Greeks in the Cyrene coast-cities, Hophra sides with the pure Berber against those Hellenized (LTM 209). His own mercenary guards turn against him, and compel him to accept their general Iahmase (Amasis) as coregent in 569. Three years later he tried to throw off the control of Amasis, is defeated and strangled by his own guardsmen as he slept on his barge (Hall 387). The fusion of Greek and Egypto-Berber goes on, founds Alexandria at the western-most mouth of the Nile, develops Yahwism to the point of discarding the personal name Yahu altogether and adopting Kurios, "Lord," as a term acceptable to all people; see LXX. With the Greek, North Egyptian culture will produce Christianity. Babylonia will produce Judaism.

#### 225. Egypt Shapes the Christian "Future Judgment."

Jewish Aramaic inscriptions found at Memphis (Noph of OT), show that Egyptian Yahwism has accepted Osiridean ideas of a judgment after death. The acts of the dead are weighed in the balance. And the ideas are expressed in phrases of the Osiris cult. Egyptian Judaism definitely contemplates future rewards and punishments (Isidore Levy, *Journal Asiatique*, Oct. Dec. 1927, pp. 231-310). And since this publication excavations by Jéquier in the necropolis south of Memphis, 1928-1930, have discovered the necropolis of an Aramaic-speaking community dating from Persian times, characterized by poor terracotta coffins with no burial gifts. Their dead were provided for in the Hereafter. Here is a historic link between the Osiris-cult and Christianity. But with Egypt dominant at Gebal and southward through thousands of years was she not always infusing these ideas into Palestine?

#### 226. Onias Temple.

Consider in the Greek period, the Onias temple at <sup>On</sup> (Gen. 41:45, 50), or Heliopolis; the "city of the sun" of Is. 19:18. (Josephus, *Ant.* XIII - iii; i, 3; *Wars* VII; x; 2, 3). Had there been some Yahwism there ever since Isaiah's time? Maimonides says that sacrifices continued for hundreds of years after Josephus' time and that this





Kefts-Or (Congregation of Horus) finally became Christians. Jewish and Christian historians alike acknowledge this. See LTM s.v. Consider names like "Origen," "Born of Horus": Isidore, "Gift of Isis." Isis-Horus became the "Virgin and Child." Draper, HCRS 47 f.)

## 227. Early Christian Art.

Modern scholars, beginning with Strykowski, 1905, have studied the origins of early Christian art. Wherein different from the art of Palestinian or Babylonian Judaism? It is found that early Western Christian Art is the art of the Alexandrian Judaism! (W. Neuss. Die Kunst der alten Christen).

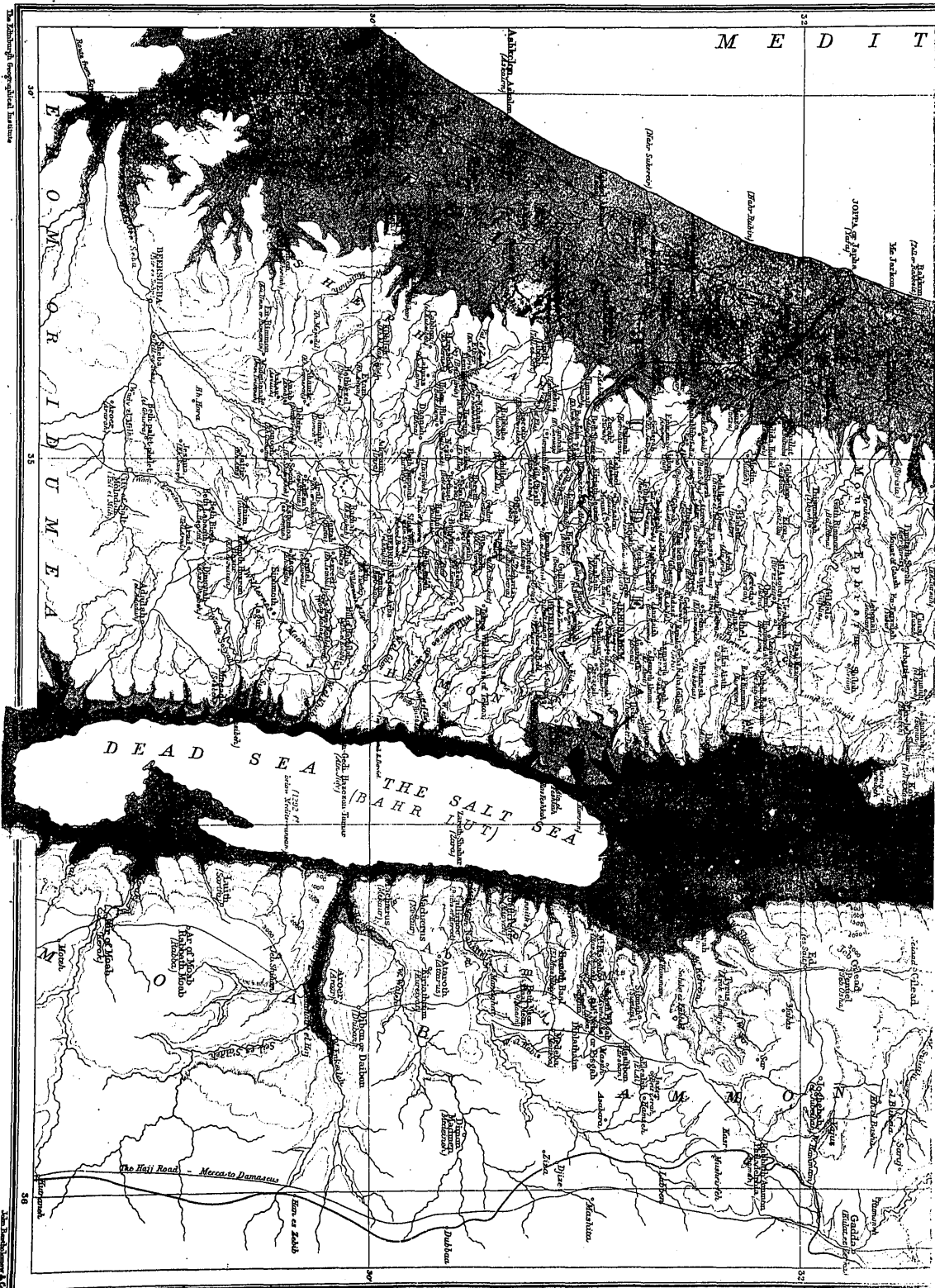
Compare with this the recent discoveries of early eastern Christian art, at Dura-Europos, on the Euphrates 150 miles east of Palmyra (Tadmor of I. R. 9:18). It was a great caravan-city: ten pagan temples already found: Graeco-Roman, Persian, Semitic and Christian cultures met here through several hundred years. A Christian Church and a Jewish Synagogue of 250-200 A.D., wonderfully frescoed, Prof. Clark Hopkins pronounces one of the most astounding discoveries of this century; earlier art of each than heretofore known. Hopkins, Rostovtzeff, and Comte du Mesnil Du Buisson agree that the Christian art borrowed from or repeated the Jewish art in both style, composition, and subject-matter. No scholar had dreamed of this. The Jewish frescoes are of OT scenes, the Christian adds some NT themes. (N.Y. Herald-Tribune, 1-31-1932; ILN 8-13-1932; 4-1-1933; 7-13-1933; 7-29-1933; 9-2-1933; L'Illustration, 7-29-1933). No comparison between East and West can here be undertaken. But the student may grasp more clearly the fact that Christian art in Libyan Egypt had to begin with the art already there.

## 228. Christian Liturgies.

The student may compare the early Christian Liturgy of Alexandria (Liturgy of St. Mark) and that of Babylonia (St. Maris), and find irreconcilable thinking at some vital points. Some differences now dividing Christendom divided pre-Christian religionists.



M E D I T



# PALESTINE

ACCORDING TO PALESTINE EXPLORATION SURVEY.

English Miles

0 10 20 30

Rails and Arched Lines represent the existing lines; Lines of Feudal  
Arabs, Romans, and Turkish, etc., etc.

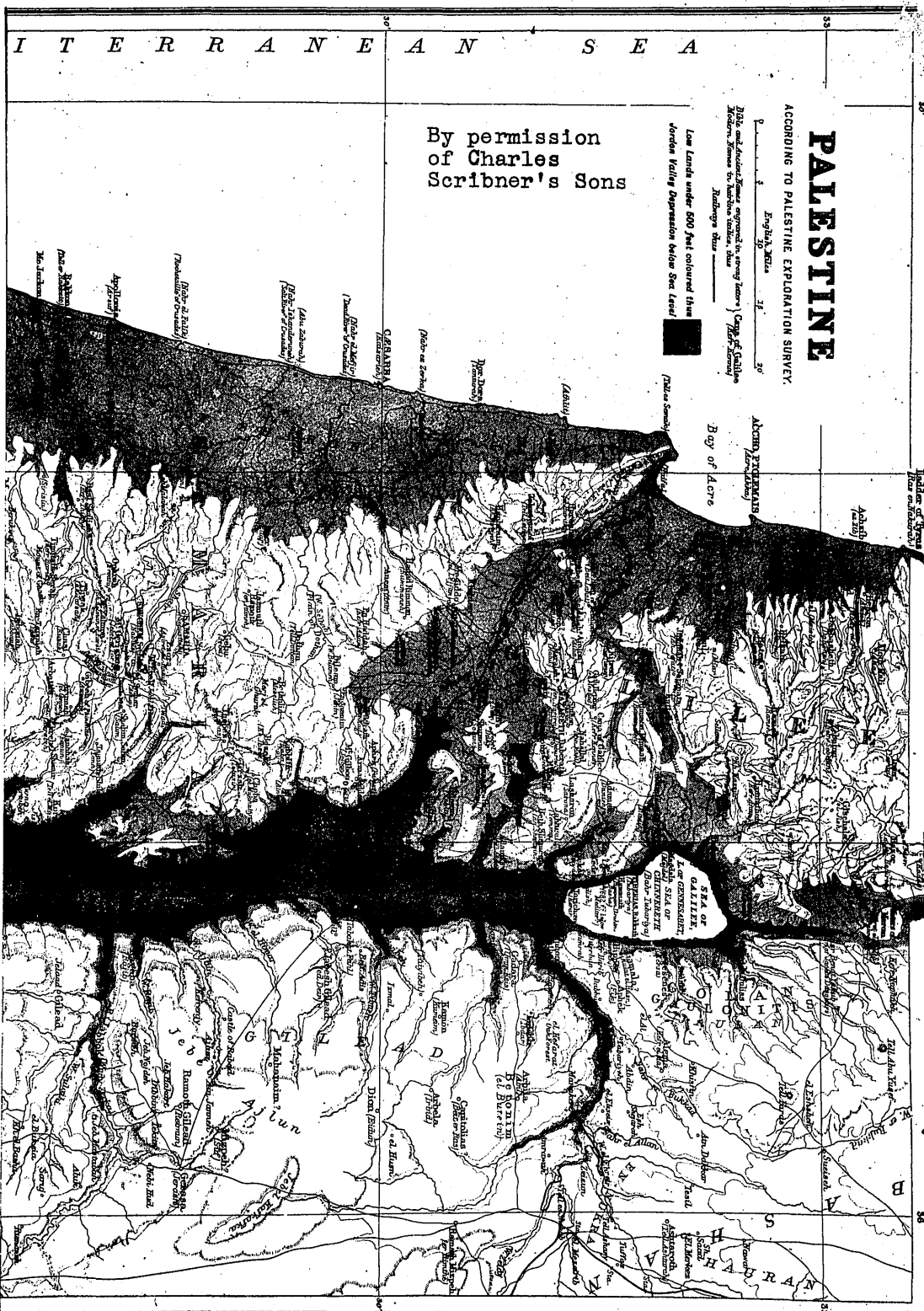
Boundaries of the

Bay of Acre

Low Lands under 500 feet coloured thus



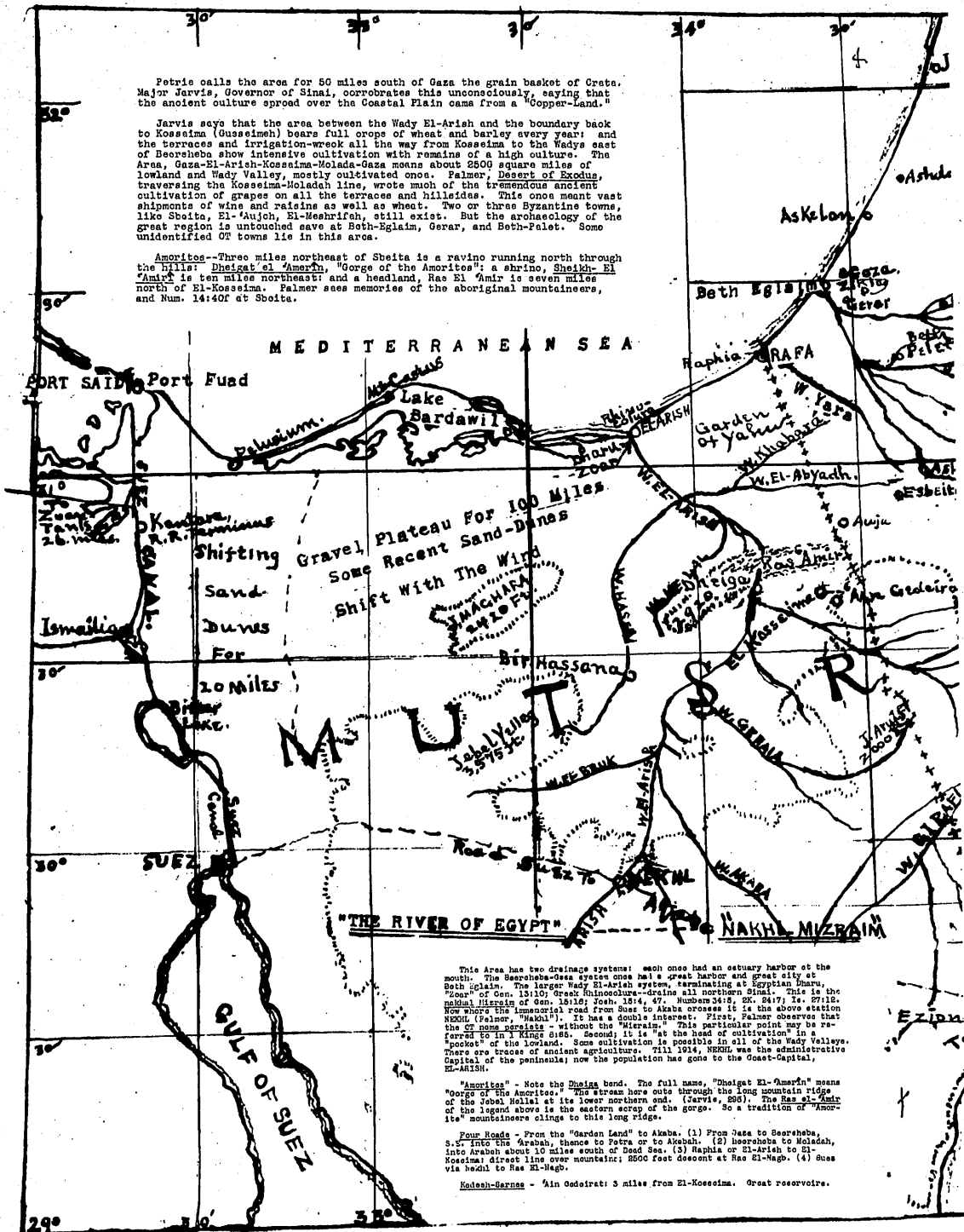
By permission  
of Charles  
Scribner's Sons



Petrie calls the area for 50 miles south of Gaza the grain basket of Crete. Major Jarvis, Governor of Sinai, corroborates this unconsciously, saying that the ancient culture spread over the Coastal Plain came from a "Copper-Land."

Jarvis says that the area between the Wady El-Arish and the boundary back to Kossseima (Gusseimeh) bears full crops of wheat and barley every year; and the terraces and irrigation-wreck all the way from Kossseima to the Wady east of Beersheba show intensive cultivation with remains of a high culture. The area, Gaza-El-Arish-Kossseima-Molada-Gaza means about 2500 square miles of lowland and Wady Valley, mostly cultivated once. Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, traversing the Kossseima-Moladah line, wrote much of the tremendous ancient cultivation of grapes on all the terraces and hill-sides. This once meant vast shipments of wine and raisins as well as wheat. Two or three Byzantine towns, like Sbeita, El-'Aujah, El-Meshrifah, still exist. But the archaeology of the great region is untouched save at Beth-Eglaim, Gerar, and Beth-Palet. Some unidentified OT towns lie in this area.

**Amorites**--Three miles northeast of Sbeita is a ravine running north through the hills: **Dheigat el 'Amrin**, "Gorge of the Amorites"; a shrine, **Sheikh-El 'Amir** is ten miles northeast; and a headland, **Ras El 'Amir** is seven miles north of El-Kossseima. Palmer sees memories of the aboriginal mountaineers, and Num. 14:40f at Sbeita.



This Area has two drainage systems: each once had an estuary harbor at the mouth. The Beersheba-Gaza system once had a great harbor and great city at Beth-Eglaim. The larger Wady El-Arish system, terminating at Egyptian El-Dharu, "Zoar" of Gen. 13:10. Great Sinusoidum--drains all northern Sinai. This is the **nahal** (river) of Gen. 15:10; Josh. 15:4, 47. Numbers 34:8, 24:17; Is. 27:12. Now where the imaginary road from Suez to Akaba crosses it is the above station **Wadi** (Palmer, "Wadi"). It has a double interest. First, Palmer observes that the OT name **sinai** is without the "Wadi". This particular point may be referred to in 1 Kings 16:34. Second it is "at the head of cultivation" in a "pocket" of the lowland. Some cultivation is possible in all of the Wady Valley. There are traces of ancient agriculture. Till 1924, **Wadi** was the administrative Capital of the peninsula; now the population has gone to the Coast-Capital, **El-Arish**.

**"Amorites"** - Note the **Dheigat** bend. The full name, "**Dheigat El-'Amrin**" means "Gorge of the Amorites". The stream here cuts through the long mountain ridge of the **Jabal Hail** at its lower northern end. (Jarvis, 206). The **Ras el-'Amir** of the legend above is the eastern scarp of the gorge. So a tradition of "Amorite" mountaineers clings to this long ridge.

**Four Roads** - From the "Garden Land" to Akaba. (1) From Gaza to Beersheba, S.E. into the Arabah, thence to Petra or to Akaba. (2) Beersheba to Moladah, into Arabah about 10 miles south of Dead Sea. (3) Raphia or El-Arish to El-Kossseima direct line over mountains; 2500 feet descent at Ras El-Nagb. (4) Suez via **Wadi** to Ras El-Nagb.

**Kadesh-Barnes** - 'Ain Qadeirat: 3 miles from El-Kossseima. Great reservoir.

# MINOAN-PHILISTINE-EGYPTIAN AREA IN PALESTINE

The student will not appreciate the ancient situation till he first realizes that cities north of Carmel had no agricultural foundation. The narrow strip of coastal plain could not feed them. They had to import grain. Southward from Joppa the Coastal plain was wide, reaching a width of about fifty miles at the "RIVER OF EGYPT", or Wady El-Arish. Further, one can ride forty miles along the eastern edge of the Philistine plain and find no pass up to the highlands. Settlers there were insured against any continuous indrift of nomads from the desert. And the broadening plains to the south meant short caravan routes to the Red Sea.

Governor Jarvis reports the population of the Egyptian province of Sinai at 25,000. The area beyond that, up to Joppa-Lydda, at 40 to the square mile, would have contained a million people. The fact that areas like "Simeon" appear but little in the OT must mean that their cultural, political and economic relations generally associated them with Minoan-Egyptian territory rather than with Judah-Israel.

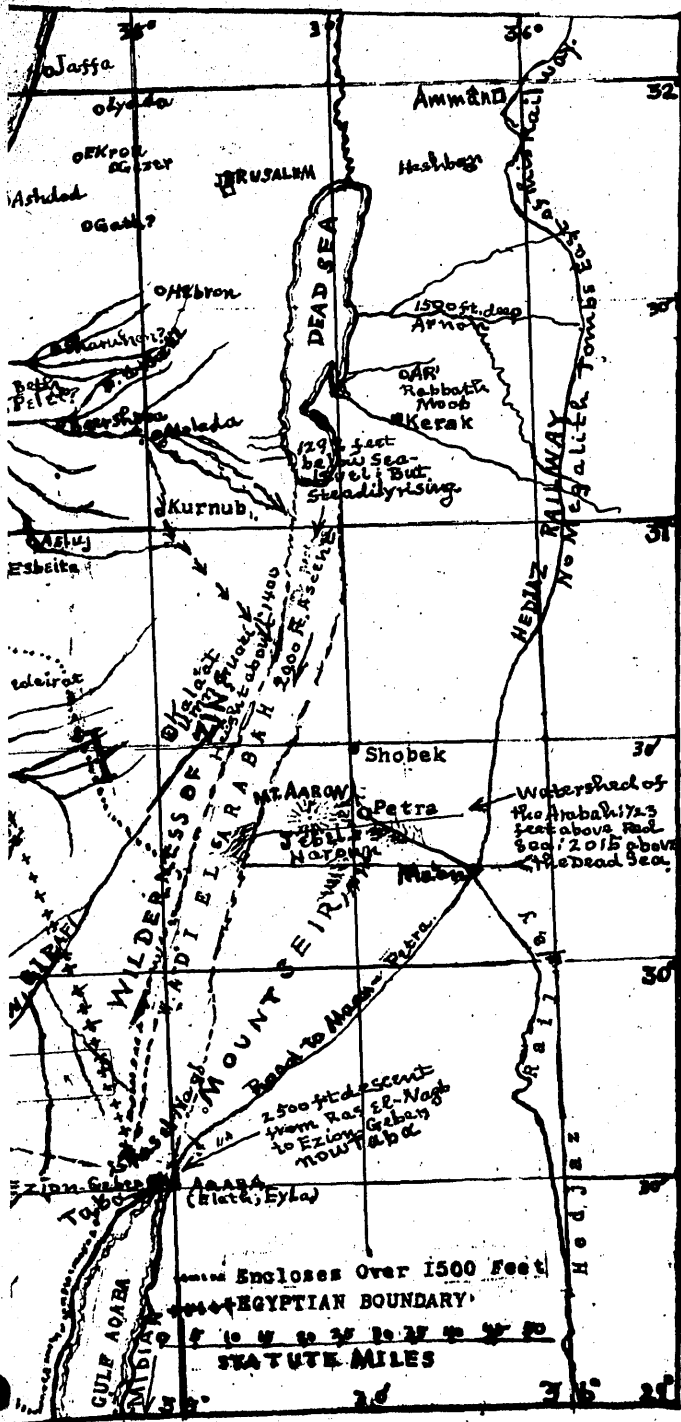
Nomads, in the modern popular sense, do not exist in Sinai. Each tribe has its well-defined area, but may move about in that, according to seasonal requirements. Exodus 17:8 portrays a deliberate attack on Amalekite territory.

To-day a score of automobile roads traverse parts of the province. These have no place in the present map.

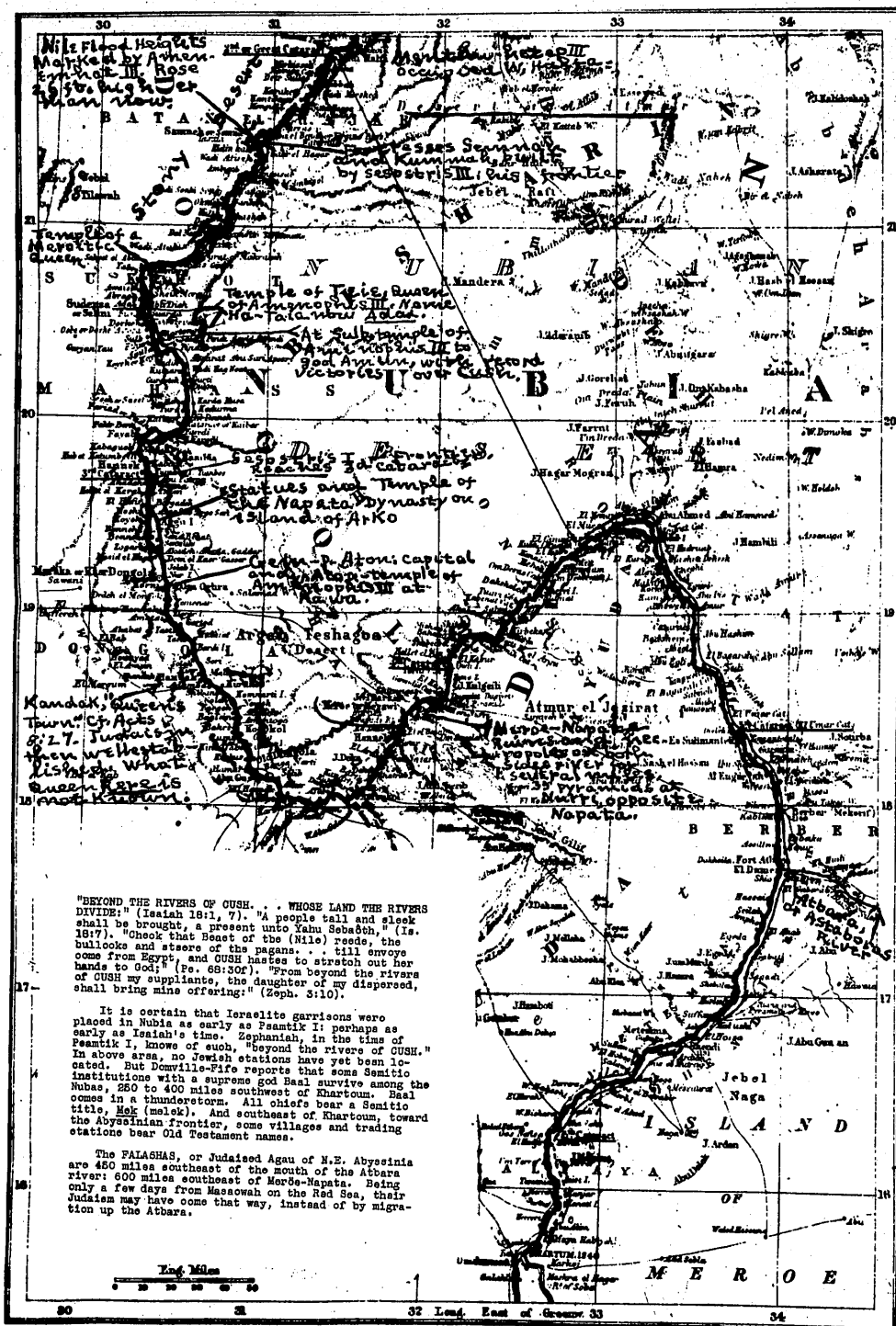
It was not necessary in this map to show the highest part of the Sinaitic Peninsula, which lies below the inset at the bottom of the map. But it should be remembered that the drainage-area of the Wady El-Arish extends to the bottom of the inset: approximately 150 miles from its ancient harbor-mouth. Yet the mountain-areas about Mt. Sinai show abundant evidence of ancient cultivation. (Palmer, D.E.)

**Wadys Vary** - The small tributary wadys are far more numerous than shown on the map. In the mountain areas these valleys have few places wide enough to cultivate without terracing. In the piedmont and coast-lowlands they become shallow depressions, sometimes three or four miles wide.

**MTZRAIM: AV, "EGYPT":** "Two Mutsris" - It is important to remember that the "Egypt" of our AV means the two areas: the Delta, and the region from Suez to near the Dead Sea. Raphia, present seaport frontier of Egypt, was the frontier also in Sargon's time: ARA, II, 5. Hence the name MUTSRI written across this area. About 30,000 square miles east of the Suez Canal was generally under Egyptian influence: confessedly never Israelite. The data suggesting a North Arabian Mutsri to some scholars may mean only that Egypt sometimes controlled east of Aqabah.

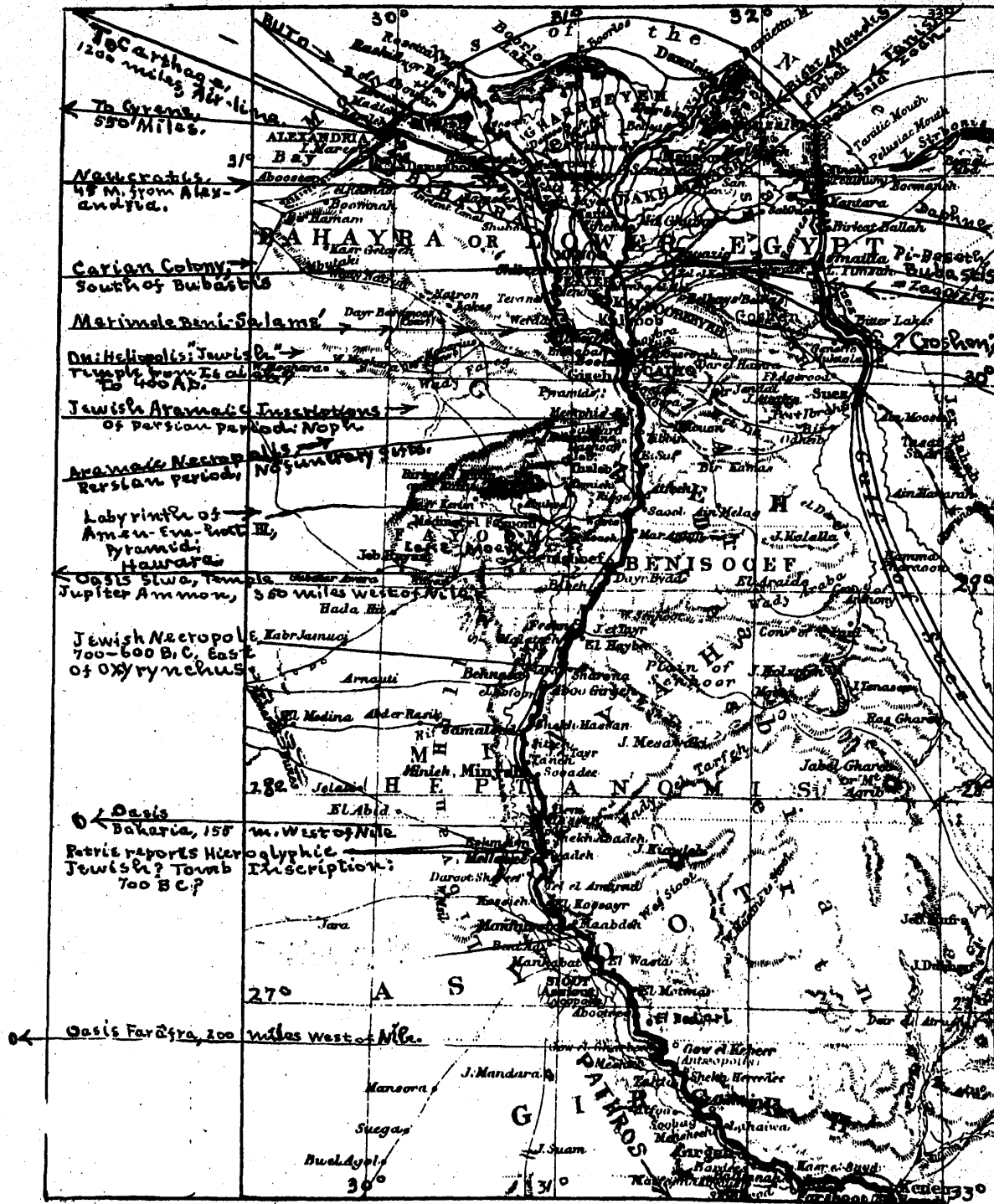








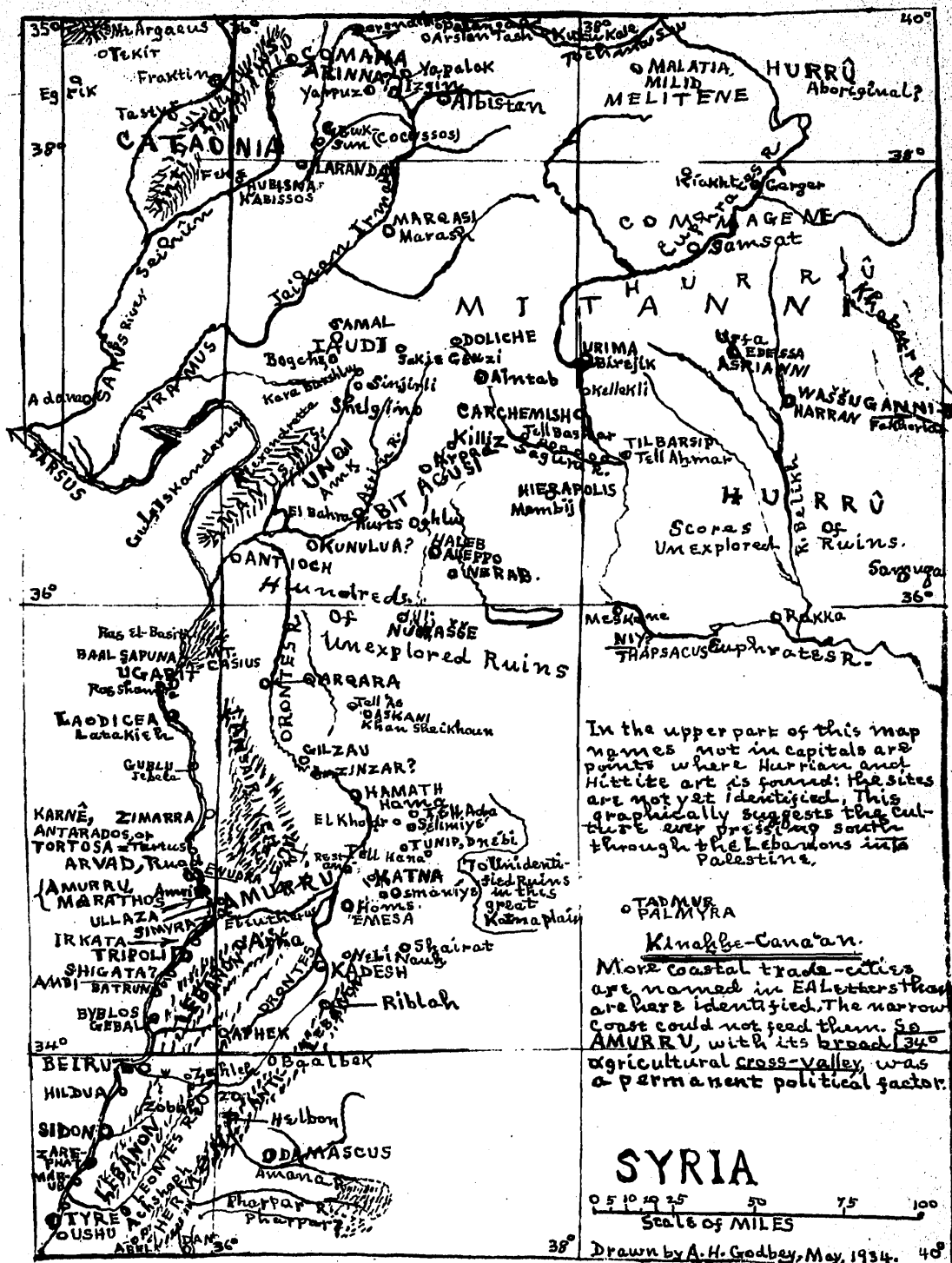




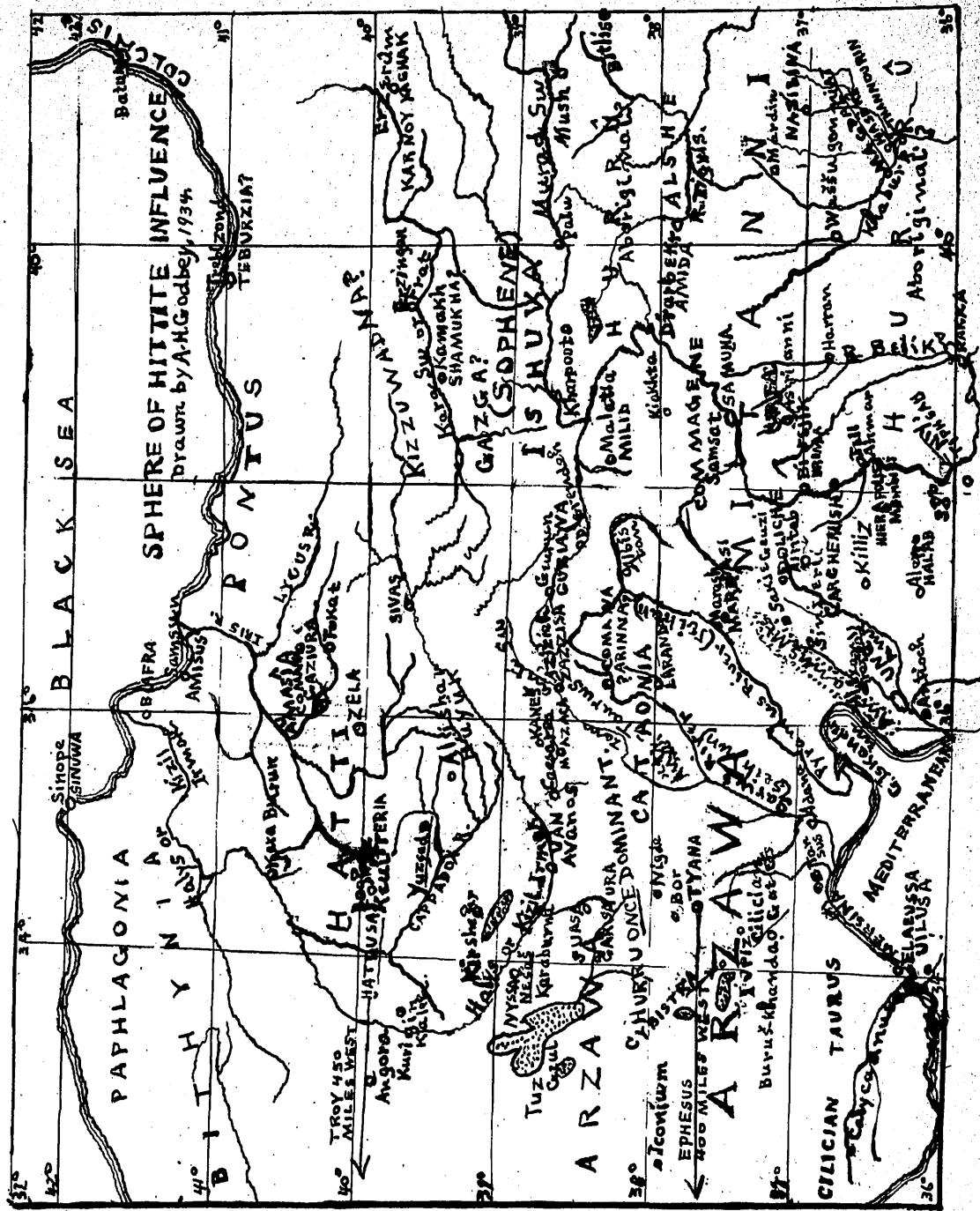


English Statute Miles.

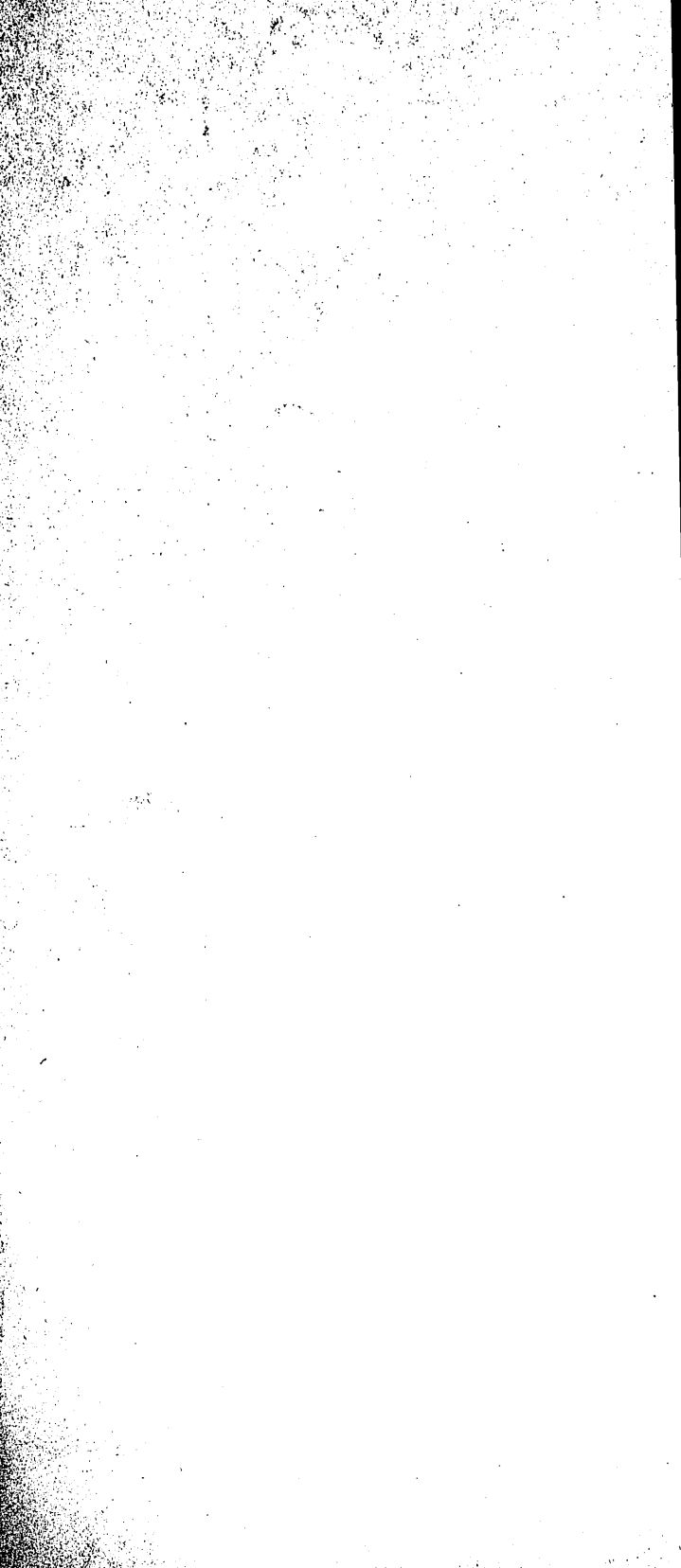














BS  
1145  
.G55

Godbey  
New light on the O.T.

1070465

JAN 7 '30

FEB 18 '30

JAN 24 '30

APR 9 '30

JUL 27 '37

MAR 18 '38

DEC 8 '38

MAY 12 '39

NOV 1 '39

JUL 20 '40

JUL 14 '42

MAR 2 '44

FEB 1 '45

FEB 27 1958

RENEWED FEB 28 1958

Irwin

Ralph T. Blum

Wm. H. H. H. H.

W. H. H. H.

Charles F. arce

R. R. H. H.

T. H. H. H.

W. H. H. H.

W. H. H. H.

W. H. H. H.

W. H. H. H.

DEC 21 1938  
29-135

FEB 1945  
FEB 27 1958

1070465

BS  
1145  
.G55

Godbey

New light on the O.T.

1070465

JAN 7 '35

FEB 18 '35

APR 9 '35

APR 23 '35

JUL 27 '37

AUG 28 '37

OCT 8 '37

DEC 21 '37

MAR 12 '38

MAR 25 '38

MAY 31 '38

DEC 9 '38

Irving W. A  
Or. Inst. Fac. Ex  
Ralph T. Holmes  
Rec. Cont. S. H.  
Nov. 7  
11-21-35  
11-29-35

Lyngby  
Goodspeed Hall  
H. W. C. S. A.  
Table 2

Charles Harace  
5 S Hall Hall

P. Pastman  
3820 Lab. Bldg.

465